DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 340 836 CE 059 374

AUTHOR Shah, S. Y.
TITLE Adult Education in Bihar. Series 171.
INSTITUTION Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi.
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 128p.
AVAILABLE FROM Indian Adult Education Association, 17-B Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi 110002, India ($2.50).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Basic Education; *Adult Literacy; Developing Nations; Economic Development; *Educational History; Federal Aid; Foreign Countries; Illiteracy; *Literacy Education; Mass Instruction; *National Programs; Nontraditional Education
IDENTIFIERS *India (Bihar State)

ABSTRACT

In Bihar, India, the number of illiterate people has increased during the last 5 decades despite the rise in the percentage of literacy. Reasons are lack of encouragement by the upper classes for education of the masses, lack of unity among lower classes to demand education as a matter of right, and a low base of development. The Mass Literacy Campaign carried out during 1938-47 is one of the most successful mass programs ever undertaken in the history of Indian adult education. It stands as an example of a social welfare program undertaken with the full cooperation and collaboration of governmental and nongovernmental agencies. Because the campaign created a group of well-educated and committed officials and a receptive atmosphere, the social education program of the 1950s could be implemented effectively. In the absence of a dynamic leader committed to adult education during the 1950s and 1960s and with the retirement of the well-oriented, dedicated body of officials created during the Mass Literacy Campaign, the progress of social education began to slow down. With the outbreak of wars and the subsequent economic crisis in the 1960s, the newly created adult education institutions were dismantled. When the centrally sponsored Farmers Functional Literacy Program was introduced in Bihar in the late 1960s, it failed miserably. Post-1978 developments in adult education promise a brighter future, since a number of adult education institutions have been established and liberal financial allocations made. (Appendixes include 13 tables, chapter references and notes, and a 36-item bibliography.) (YLB)

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Adult Education

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ADULT EDUCATION IN BIHAR

S.Y. SHAH

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NEW DELHI

Published by
INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
17-B, Indraprastha Estate
New Delhi-110002

Rs. 20.00; US $ 2.50
Series 171
1989

Printed at :
N. S. PRINTERS
Esplande Road,
Delhi-110006

FOREWARD

The Indian Adult Education Association decided to bring out a number of publications on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations. Prominent adult educators in the country were requested to write on different facets of the subject. The Association also desired to have books on history of adult education in various States during the last 50 years, so that the planners, government functionaries, educationists and students could benefit from the same.

Dr. S.Y. Shah, Asstt. Director, Adult, Continuing Education and Extension Unit of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi was requested to write a book about the History of Adult Education in Bihar. Dr. Shah took special pains and consulted a large number of publications – government reports and related material and produced the present work within the specified time before he left on a foreign assignment in March 1989. Dr. Shah has reviewed the progress of adult education in Bihar during the last 5 decades (1938 88), describing briefly, how different social, political and economic factors have effected the growth and development of adult education at various points of time.

We are indeed very grateful to Dr. Shah for his kind cooperation with the Indian Adult Education Association, of which he is also a prominent life-member.

We have every hope that the publication will prove useful to the readers and it will help them in planning and executing their own adult education programme more effectively.

New Delhi
May 13, 1989

J. C. Saxena
Hony. General Secretary

PREFACE

As a fascinating and fertile field of study, Bihar continues to attract the attention of scholars. Although certain aspects of the Bihar Society, polity, economy and education have been studied by the Social Scientists, no one seems to have focussed on the lingering problem of illiteracy and the measures taken to eradicate it over the years. Today, in terms of literacy Bihar remains as one of the most backward State in India. The number of illiterates have increased during the last five decades, notwithstanding the rise in the percentage of literacy in Bihar. What are the reasons for the increase of illiteracy in Bihar? What types of policies and programmes have been pursued by the State to liquidate illiteracy? What types of agencies are involved in the implementation of adult education programme in Bihar? Who were the key people who played a crucial role in the operation of adult education programme in Bihar? What should be the role of the Government of India vis-a-vis State Government in the operation of adult education programme? Should the State Government depend exclusively on the Centre for programme package and finances or develop its own programme and raise resources for adult education? The present study, while attempting to answer the above questions traces the growth and development of adult education in Bihar during the last fifty years.

The study is based on a variety of primary and secondary source materials collected from the State Directorate of Adult Education, State Resource Centre and A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies—all located in Patna and

the Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi. This work has considerably drawn from the experiences of several key personnel connected with adult education in Bihar; viz., Shri Rama Shankar Tewari, Secretary, Department of Education, Government of Bihar (who was the first Director of the State Directorate of Adult Education), Shri Anil K. Sinha, Director, Directorate of Adult Education, Government of India, (who was the successor to R.S. Tewari); Ms. Neelam Nath, the present Director of the State DAE; Shri S.K. Mukherji, Chairman of the State Resource Centre and the former Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar; Dr. B.K. Sinha, Director, State Resource Centre; retired Professor C.S.P. Sinha, Department of Education, Government of Bihar who was closely associated with the Mass Literacy Campaign (1937-47) and the Non-Formal Education Programme; Shri M.P. Srivastava, retired Deputy Director of DAE, and the late Professor S.K. Mukherji, Vice-Chancellor of Rajendra Agricultural University, Pusa, who was the son of late Professor B.B. Mukherji who worked as the Secretary of Mass Literacy Campaign of Bihar during 1937-39. Shri N. Bam and Ms. Jyotsna Roy of the State Resource Centre also spared their time in providing certain insights into the adult education programme in Bihar and provided few valuable literature. I appreciate the co-operation of all the above mentioned individuals and I would like to record my gratitude to them for sparing their time and sharing their thoughts.

I am immensely indebted to Professor Tapas Majumdar, Jawaharlal Nehru University, who encouraged me to undertake the present study, and to late Dr. S.C. Dutta, President of Indian Adult Education Association, who pursuaded me to make it more extensive for publication by the Indian Adult Education Association. I appreciate the interest shown by Shri J.C. Saxena, General Secretary of Indian Adult Education Association in my study and I acknowledge with gratitude his comments and the foreword. In fact, Chapter-II of this

work is based on a UGC Project entitled, "A Critical Study of Mass Literacy Campaign in Bihar (1937-47)", undertaken by me and I acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the Commission. I am grateful to Dr. Anita Dighe, Director, Adult, Continuing Education and Extension Unit, Jawaharlal Nehru University for giving me freedom and time for pursuing the present study uninterruptedly. And finally, I would like to thank Ms. Regi Varghese and Shri Sachdeva for typing the manuscript in an excellent and efficient manner.

S. Y. SHAH

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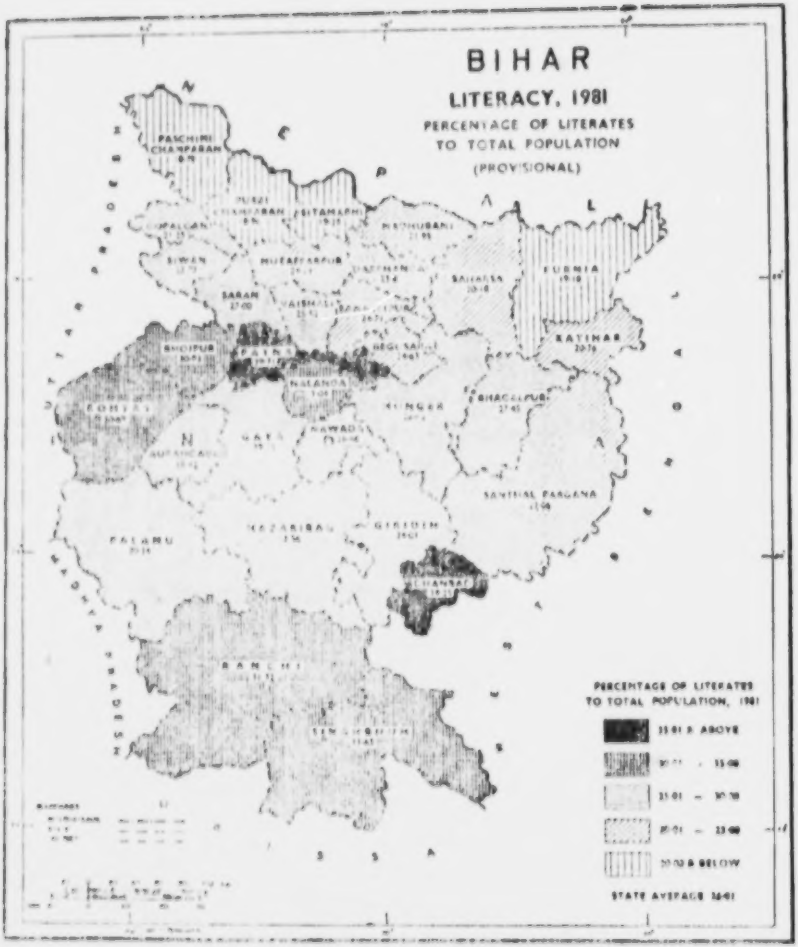
BIHAR
LITERACY, 1981
PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES
TO TOTAL POPULATION
(PROVISIONAL)
PASCHIMI CHAMPARAN
SITAMARHI
MADHUBANI
SIWAN
MUZAFFARPUR
SAHARSA
PURNIA
SARAN
KATIHAR
BHOJPUR
PATNA
NALANDA
GAYA
NAWADA
MUNGER
BHAGALPUR
SANTHAL PARGANA
PALAMU
HAZARIBAG
GIRIDIH
RANCHI
PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1981
33.01 & ABOVE
30.11 - 33.00
27.01 - 30.10
25.01 - 27.00
25.00 & BELOW
STATE AVERAGE 32.01

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF ILLITERACY IN BIHAR: SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

The State of Bihar has had a rich tradition of learning since ancient times when the renowned university of Nalanda and several Buddhist 'Viharas' (centres of education) had flourished in the region and had attracted scholars from far and wide. The word "Bihar" is said to have originated from the word "viharas" which had abounded in the region.[1] Known as the "classic land of Indian Civilization,"[2] Bihar not only witnessed the rise and decline of several social, religious and educational institutions during the past but also remained as the nerve centre of Indian nationalist movement which had attracted several eminent leaders of Modern India viz., Rajendra Prasad, Syed Mahmud, Sachidanand Sinha and Mahatma Gandhi who made Bihar the base of their socio-political activities. Among the various programmes conceived by the leaders, specially Mahatma Gandhi, the Mass Literacy Campaign (MLC) has been one of the most successful programme executed by them when their party—Indian National Congress—wielded power in Bihar during 1937-39. Within a short period of one year, the MLC emerged as a model to be emulated by other Provinces and Bihar became the pioneer in the field of adult education in British India.

The policy and programme of adult education in Bihar have undergone several and significant changes over the years. It was due to the changing socio-economic and

1

political factors and forces that were in operation at various points of time. In spite of the great variety of adult education programmes tried out in Bihar during the last five decades through the official as well as non-official agencies, the extent of illiteracy in the State has all through remained consistently high. The number of illiterates have increased from 37 to 51 million during 1961-81 (See Table No. 1). All the available statistics based on the census reports and educational surveys conducted in the region show that Bihar has been one of the most backward State in terms of literacy when compared to other 30 provinces/States : the position of Bihar has been on the decline ; it ranked 15th in 1951, 22nd in 1961, 25th in 1971 and 28th in 1981.[3] What are the reasons for the relative backwardness of Bihar in literacy? What is the level of literacy among different regions, religions and sex in Bihar ?

The problem of illiteracy in Bihar may be examined from several angles. From demographic angle it may be argued that increase in the number of illiterates has been due to the enormous growth of population as well as the territorial re-organization of the region. In 1911, when British India had 14.4 literate per 100 males of 5 years and above, the Bengal Presidency which included Bihar had the highest number of literates i.e. 18.1 per 100 males.[4] But in 1921, after the territorial reorganization and separation of Bihar and Orissa from Bengal, the former had only 12.6 literates compared to 22.5 literates in the latter.[5] This reveals the relative backwardness of Bihar region compared to Bengal which was the seat of power and centre of educational, cultural and commercial activities. With the separation of Orissa from Bihar in 1935, the literacy situation in Bihar became clear. According to 1931 census the percentage of literacy in Bihar was calculated to be 5.2 against 7 at all India level[6] and by 1941 the percentage of literacy in Bihar increased to 9.2 while that of Orissa showed only a

marginal increase from 10.2 to 10.9 during the period 1931-41.[7] It shows the speedier progress of Bihar compared to Orissa.

After the reorganization of States in Independent India, Bihar emerged as one of the largest State in terms of population as well as geographical area. While there has been only marginal changes in the total area of the State since 1951, the population has increased tremendously (See Table No. 1). According to 1981 census, Bihar ranked second in population size (after UP) and had 10.50 percentage of all India population comprising of 69,914,734 persons. In terms of geographical area, it ranked seventh with an area of 173,877 kms (5.3 percent of the area of country). The density of population in Bihar has been very high ; it ranked third and had 402 people per kilometer compared to 216 at all India level in 1981.[8] Due to the high fertility rate of 5.7 in Bihar compared to 4.5 in India,[9] the population has been increasing faster than literacy and literacy rate was not fast enough to keep illiterates from increasing in absolute number. According to 1981 census. the percentage of literacy in Bihar was 26.20 compared to 36.23 at all India level and Bihar ranked as the second lowest State (after Rajasthan) in terms of literacy.[10]

There has been considerable disparity with regard to literacy among male and female, and rural and urban population. Compared to 24.82 percentage of female literacy at all India level in 1981, Bihar had only 13.62 percent.[11] In the case of males, the situation was much better for 38.11 percent males were literate in Bihar compared to 46.89 at all India level.[12] The literacy situation in rural areas in Bihar was extremely pathetic. The literacy rate among females in rural Bihar was 10.17. Although female literacy rate has increased over the years, the number of illiterate females per 1000 males have also increased during 71-81 (See Table No. 2). According to 1981 census 23.2 percent of popu-

lation in Bihar belonged to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe compared to 23.7 percent at all India level.[13] Bihar has the largest population of Scheduled Tribes in India. Though they constituted 8.31 percentage of total population of Bihar, their achievements have been remarkable in literacy. The percentage of literate among Scheduled Tribes in Bihar and India was 16.99 and 16.35 respectively.[14] The main reason for the high rate of literacy among the Tribes was due to the incessant developmental work of Christian Missionaries since nineteenth century. The achievement of Scheduled Caste in literacy was not as impressive as Scheduled Tribe, because they were concentrated in northern part of the State which was comparatively backward. Their percentage of literacy was 10.40, though they constituted 14.57 percent of the total population of Bihar. As their literacy rate was much lower than the all India figure (21.83 percent), they were more backward than their counterparts in other parts of India.

The distribution of literate population in Bihar reveals certain patterns (see Map). Of the 31 districts of Bihar as many as 29 were found to have literacy rate below the national average as per 1981 census.[15] The high level of literacy in Patna (39.71) and Dhanbad (39.25)[16] may be traced to their political and economic settings. Being the capital city and centre of social, cultural and political activities for a long time, Patna achieved comparatively higher rate of literacy whereas Dhanbad being the centre of coal mines attracted business community and educated labour force thereby enhancing the number of literates. High percentage of literacy in Ranchi district was primarily due to the role of Christian Missionaries who initiated a series of social, religious and educational activities among the local people, especially the Tribals.[17] Besides, Ranchi was the administrative headquarters of Chhotanagpur region and the only district in Bihar where the compulsory primary education Act

was in operation since 1921.[18] According to 1981 census, Paschim Champaran having a literacy rate of 18.79 percent remains as the most backward district in Bihar. Besides, three other northern districts viz., Purbi Champaran (18.96) Sitamarhi (19.39) and Purnea (19.18) were also found to have very low literacy rate of less than 20 percent.[19] The low literacy is linked to relative backwardness of these areas and high concentration of Scheduled Castes. When the different districts of Bihar are ranked in terms of certain indices of development, the relationship between the level of literacy and backwardness of a particular district emerges clearly. (See Table No. 3).

Illiteracy in Bihar may be viewed as a legacy of colonialism. To a certain extent, it may be traced to the British policy of holding the downward filtration theory in education and their negligent attitude towards mass education. Although illiteracy among Indians had attracted the attention of British statesmen as early as 1868 when Lord Lawrence noted that "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people"—the colonial rulers did not develop any specific programmes to liquidate adult illiteracy as there was neither the resources nor the trained personnel to take up adult education programme. The adoption of the policy of expansion of primary education as a strategy for curbing the growth of illiteracy in India also seems to have led to the negligence of adult education.[20] It was argued that adults cannot be given the cake when the child remains without bread and hence the Government preferred the policy of encouraging primary education to adult education mainly by leaving the task to people and local bodies and also providing grants to them.[21] Some enlightened and philanthropic individuals took initiatives in the expansion of primary education in Bihar and as a result of their endeavours (e. g. Shyam

Kumar Sahay), the Bihar Primary Education Act was passed in 1919.[22] The Act was implemented in a limited way and confined to Ranchi district and boys.[23] On the one hand there was gradual decline in the government grant towards primary education (From 44 percent in 1881-82 to 29.2 percent in 1936-37)[24] presumably due to the economic depression of 1929 - and on the other hand the Government of Bihar did not give as liberal grants to primary education as those of U.P. and Punjab[25] and hence primary education in Bihar did not progress rapidly. Moreover there was high rate of drop out and wastage at primary level during 1920's. Of the 351,194 children who were enrolled in class I during 1922-23 only 31,491 reached class V in Bihar and Orissa whereas in British India of the 3,453,046 children of class I, as many as 393,465 reached class V; the drop-out rate in Bihar was higher (91 percent) than British India (88 percent).[26] In view of this huge wastage at primary level, which added to the growing number of illiterates, a policy of qualitative rather than quantitative expansion of primary education was adopted which in a way checked the growth of new primary schools and the subsequent progress of literacy at a time when there was "acute economic distress and political disturbances".[27] According to the Census of 1931, while the literacy in Bihar was 5.2 percent, the number of illiterates were 14.4 million.

It has been observed that in Bihar there was neither the force of charity on the part of upper classes to encourage the education of masses nor the force of unity among lower classes to demand education as a matter of right. The attitude of certain castes in Bihar was not conducive for the promotion of education. It was reported that the Rajputs (the martial class), were not interested in intellectual pursuits during the first quarter of twentieth century.[28] In general the upper castes in Bihar did not encourage or support the education of lower castes due to the caste prejudices. Besides

with the exception of Arya Samaj and Christian Missionaries no other organized social reform movements were in effective operation in Bihar during the first quarter of this century.[29] It has been observed that religion constituted the basic unit of social movements in Bihar, and evidence of various castes involved in common social movements was practically lacking during the colonial era when the Imperial rulers encouraged such phenomenon.[30] Even after independence, the caste based organizations in Bihar flourished under the leadership of the elites and the caste conflicts to a certain extent paved the way for disruption of social relations among the Biharis which ultimately disturbed the educational scene in the State.

There was a dearth of professional leadership and organizations in the field of adult education in Bihar till 1938 when the Mass Literacy Campaign was launched. The educated elites and political leaders in Bihar specially Sachidananda Sinha and Rajendra Prasad were actively engrossed in the freedom struggle and they considered the attainment of freedom to be *sine qua non* for the development of education and nation. Since the Government considered the "advancement of adult education as a matter of non-official activity which should be based on popular support and not on funds and initiatives from outside",[31] its progress depended on the people and their interest. In 1917, there were 259 adult schools in Bihar which came into being due to the initiatives of philanthropists, social workers and freedom fighters.[32]

The proliferation of languages, both mother tongue and dialects in Bihar seems to have influenced the process and progress of adult education in Bihar. Since the bulk of the adult education programmes in Bihar are organized in Hindi —the official language of the State—the population groups viz., Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Muslims having their own mother

tongues, often feel disinterested in an adult education programme conducted mainly in the official language. The attempts made by the Government to provide adult education programmes through the medium of the respective mother tongues of different groups, are often viewed with suspicion by the groups who consider it as an "official strategy of tampering with their original language and culture by inducting alien words and concepts."[33] For example, it was recalled by a former literacy volunteer that during 1938-39, the literacy primers in Bihar, included words such as "Begum Sita", "Maharishi Mohammad" etc., which seem to have offended the sentiments of a section of people.[34] The Government will have to be extremely cautious in preparing the learning materials.

The developmental infrastructure in Bihar has been found to be too inadequate and even fragile to sustain any steady growth of a social welfare programme like adult education. It is because of the peculiar characteristics of the society, polity and economy of Bihar. The marked disparity among different regions caused by the uneven distribution of natural resources and the pattern of development, have had their impact on the progress of literacy. Of the three Distinct agroclimatic zones in the State, viz., North Bihar, South Bihar and Chhotanagpur Plateau ; the first one is flat and fertile area often susceptable to the furies of nature—the recurrent droughts and floods. 94.8 percent of the population of this region is rural based and 59 percent of Scheduled Caste in Bihar belongs to this region. Sugar is the only major agro-industry. It is an area of endemic poverty, backwardness and unemployment[35] and hence it is not surprising that the literacy rate in this region remains below 20 percent. The South Bihar plains which forms the Central part of Bihar is a stable and fertile area. The relative stability, prosperity and the impact of the socio political developments in the area have contributed to the growth of

high level of literacy. The Chhotanagpur region has an undulating topography and the area is predominantly non-fertile and nearly one third is forest. It is rich in mineral resources as 90 percent of minerals found in the State come from this area and 92 percent of the Scheduled Tribe reside in this area.[36] The developmental work of the Christian missionaries among Tribals and the commercial activities generated by the coal mines, and the concentration of literate Bengalees in this region have given tremendous boost to the educational programmes in the region and hence the level of literacy in Chhotanagpur has been comparatively higher than North Bihar.

The State of Bihar has a strikingly low base of development. Today it is at the bottom judged from all accepted indicators of development. The backwardness of Bihar can be traced to de-industrialisation and non-emergence of middle class during colonial era and the slow pace of urbanisation, poor performance of economy and changing political leadership since Independence. Although there was political stability in Bihar during the first decade after independence when it enjoyed the reputation of being one of "the best administered State" which had a sound infrastructure and an annual compound growth rate of 3.95 as compared to the all India growth rate of 3.30 ; the trend began to change from the beginning of 1960's.[37] The severe drought and floods in 60's damaged the economy (based on agriculture) and impoverished large number of poor peasants. The political changes in 60's precipitated the political instability and plan investment also slowed down. The per capita income in Bihar has been one of the lowest in India. Compared to all India per capita income of Rs. 1,758, Bihar had only Rs. 995 in 1981-82.[38] According to the 32nd NSS Survey of 1977-78 Bihar had the second highest percentage of population (57.49) below the poverty line.[39] The economy of the State remains predominantly rural with 79.07 percent

of working population engaged in agriculture (as cultivators and labours) in 1981, compared to 66.52 percent of India.[40] The industrial population is as low as 3.94 percent against all India figure of 10.9 per cent, despite the fact that 43.3 percent of all minerals by weight and 30 percent by value raised in whole of India comes from Bihar.[41] The process of urbanization in Bihar has been slow as the percentage of urban population in Bihar increased from 6.77 to 12.47 percent during 1951-81, whereas for the rest of the country it went up from 17.59 to 23.70 percent.[42] Such overall backwardness of the State had its impact on education sector. The per capita expenditure on education in Bihar has been one of the lowest in the country. During 1983-84, the per capita expenditure on education in Bihar was Rs. 65 compared to the all India average of Rs. 81 and in fact the percentage of plan expenditure to the total expenditure of the Education Departments during the period 1968 to 1986, in Bihar has declined from 6.2 to 4.7, compared to 6.5 to 9.1 increase in India.[43] A strong economy, political stability, dynamic leadership and sound developmental infra-structure which are inevitable for the successful planning and implementation of social welfare programmes, have been gradually declining and extremely fluctuating in Bihar during the past five decades and hence it is hardly surprising that several programmes, including adult education which have succeeded in other parts of India have failed to show better results or at times did not take off in Bihar. A review of adult education in Bihar during the last five decades (1938-88) shows how the different socio-political and economic factors have affected its growth and development at various points of time.

CHAPTER II

THE MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN (1938 - 1947)

The Mass Literacy Compaign[1] organised by the State of Bihar during the period 1938-47 has been considered as one of the most successful mass programme that was ever undertaken in the history of Indian adult education. Sponsored by the State, the campaign was implemented with a spirit of dynamism and dedication that was rarely manifested in an official programme. Although the intensity and impact of the campaign did vary from year to year, it stands as a glittering example of a social welfare programme undertaken with the full co-operation and collaboration of the Governmental and non-Governmental agencies. Not only the official reports of the campaign but also the personal accounts of some those who were associated with the campaign bear testimony to its success. During the ten years when the campaign was in operation it succeeded in making twenty lakh people literate and establishing more than 6,000 libraries in Bihar. How and why did the campaign succeed ? What were the circumstances, factors and forces that contributed to its success ? Who were the architects of the campaign ? Answer to some of these questions may enable us to identify as well as study the key elements that made the campaign successful and in that process draw lessons and examples from the past so that similar strategies could be adopted or adapted in future.

The Role of Congress Party and Gandhian Ideology

A new phase in the Indian nationalist politics began

when the Government of India Act of 1935 proposed the transfer of certain powers to the elected members of Provincial Legislative Councils of British India. When the Act was passed and a decision to hold the election was announced, the Congress Party—the leading political party in British India—suspended its agitationist politics and participated in the elections which it won in seven of the nine provinces of British India. In Bihar the Congress Party contested in 107 of the total 152 seats and won 82 seats to come into power. On 20 July 1937, among others, Sri Krishna Sinha and Dr. Syed Mahmud were sworn in as the Prime Minister and Education Minister respectively.[2]

In the Election Manifesto of 1936 the Congress Party had made several promises to the people of Bihar. The Congress believed that real strength comes from organizing and serving the masses and hence it laid, "great stress on the development of people",[3] and to achieve that the Party adopted the "constructive programme as" suggested by Mahatma Gandhi.[4] One of the closely linked component of the constructive programme was eradication of illiteracy.

Mahatma Gandhi had clear ideas on the eradication of illiteracy through "an intensive programme of driving out ignorance through carefully selected teachers with an equally carefully selected syllabus according to which they would educate the adult villagers mind".[5] He did not consider literacy in itself as education. He valued the knowledge of the alphabet only as a vehicle of education. To Gandhi "literacy was not the end of education, nor even the beginning. It was only one of the means whereby men and women can be educated".[6] However, he highlighted the importance of literacy and exhorted the Congress Ministers to "appeal to the intelligentsia of the country and call upon all who have education of the people at heart to rally to the assistance of the new government for the spread of literacy,

culture and education since he believed that literacy programme would "establish a mass contact on new basis ...and serve the higher purpose of awakening, consolidation and organisation of mass power and intelligence".[7] Thus Gandhi viewed literacy programme primarily as a political strategy for mass mobilization.

Inspired by the Gandhian ideology and committed to the Congress Party, their leaders conceived the MLC as a top priority programme. The frequent visits of Gandhi to Bihar[8] and the eagerness of the Congress leaders to demonstrate their concern for the masses also paved the way for the successful launching of the MLC, notwithstanding the economic depression caused by the earthquake of 1934, the floods of subsequent years, the failure of agriculture and the deteriorating communal situation.[9]

The architects of the literacy campaign in Bihar had very lofty ideals as evident from the writings and speeches of some of them who conceived it neither as a "mere programme of imparting basic literacy nor as a supplement to the existing system of primary education".[10] The organizers of the campaign did not consider it as a means of saving official funds by getting some primary teaching done without paying for it or by taking advantage of the enthusiasm of some good people. On the contrary it was taken up as an "experiment in the great and stupendous task of lifting up the masses of India, sunken, trodden and neglected for centuries so as to make them the backbone of the Indian nation of the future".[11] It was observed that "as long as the masses remain steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, the economic and social upbuilding of the nation would remain a pious dream."[12] In view of the magnitude of the problem of illiteracy and paucity of funds, the MLC was planned as a "voluntary programme, capitalising on the spirit of social service of the educated countrymen."[13] The MLC was how-

ever, only one aspect of the Adult Education Movement, which aimed at "teaching the illiterate adults the three R's and imparting knowledge closely correlated to his working life and giving him a grounding in citizenship".[14]

The literacy campaign was based on certain premises. It was observed that though India had shown to the world that she could produce great men in all walks of life of the same calibre as in any other country in the world, she still had to project the average Indian as efficient and as animated by civic and national consciousness as the average citizen of the most advanced countries in the world and the mass education was conceived as a strategy towards the achievement of this "high national and humanitarian objective". It was argued that the campaign was of utmost urgency, as India could not wait for another generation to see the results of a renovated system of primary education. It was felt that the presence of millions of adult illiterates in the country would be a drag on all efforts towards improvement of primary education for their children. Moreover, the campaign was chosen as a means of expediting the fulfilment of the ideals of democracy since it was thought that the man in the street and in the field must become as much imbibed with civic, political and national consciousness as the members of the Cabinet. It was stated that as purity of a democratic Government could only be maintained by constant contact with and check by enlightened masses who could follow, guide, criticise and initiate, the education of the masses should be considered to be vital for the success of a democratic nation in the making.[15]

The campaign having been taken up by the Congress Government as a top priority official programme had the much needed political will for ensuring its' success. At the fifty first session of the Indian National Congress held at Hapur in 1938, a resolution was adopted upholding the Mass Literacy Programme.[16] Besides political backing, the personal

interest, initiative and involvement of the Education Minister especially in the context of the ongoing freedom struggle did lend considerable support and strength to the campaign. One of the striking feature of the campaign was the relatively shorter duration of time between the policy formulation and implementation. The policy decision to initiate the campaign w.e.f. 1st May, 1938, was taken on 25th March 1938 which hardly provided about a month for the preparation. This shorter gap seems to have imposed a sense of urgency which may have motivated or compelled the organizers to mobilize all the resources and do their best. It didn't give much scope for dabbling in prolonged discussions on the logistics as often happens in several programme. In fact, when the State-wide campaign took off there was hardly any organisational set up. There was only one part time secretary (who was a Professor at Patna College) who operated directly under the guidance of Education Minister and that too from his house ! The campaign had neither a formal office, nor any infrastructure to begin with. Yet the campaign had a very remarkable beginning. It was mainly due to the commitment and co-operation of the people and the State towards liquidation of illiteracy.

Operationalisation of the Campaign : The First Year of Mass Literacy Campaign 1938-1939

During the first year the campaign was conducted in two phases and in collaboration with a number of agencies—both official and non-official. The first phase was spread over a period of six months - May - October 1938; while in the second phase, the campaign operated from November, 1938 - May 1939. In the first phase the campaign was not concentrated in any one particular area, but spread all over the State. In the second phase, the campaign was intensive in character and only confined to certain chosen areas. In the first phase, the campaign passed through two distinct stages :

(i) Pre-implementation stage and (ii) Implementation stage

Since the success of the campaign depended on the active participation of the people, several strategies were developed to mobilise and motivate the people during the first stage. The dynamic leadership of the Education Minister provided the much needed political and bureaucratic support to the programme. On March 12, 1938 an appeal was issued by the Minister of Education, Dr. Syed Mahmud in the local press calling upon the students and teachers of Bihar to devote the ensuing summer vacation for the liquidation of illiteracy. "In the name of Bihar", the Minister appealed to the youth of the Province to "wage an unremitting war against poverty and ignorance". In view of the magnitude and urgency of the problem, he exhorted the student community to organise adult education centres "to broaden the mental horizon of illiterates and enable them to participate intelligently in the struggle for freedom". He considered the participation in literacy programme as a "genuine test of patriotism and an excellent opportunity to give unselfish service to the Province".[17]

The projection of literacy programme as an act of patriotism, especially in the prevailing colonial set up seems to have touched the heart of student community who responded instantly. The college professors and school teachers of Patna organized a public meeting at Bihar Youngmen's Institute on March 25, 1938 with Dr. S.C. Sarkar in the chair. Again, the Minister addressed the meeting and called upon the members to organise the campaign in "right earnest". He also issued an appeal to the teachers for he considered their co-operation and guidance indispensable in mobilising the students.[18] Subsequently, he constituted a Mass Literacy Committee comprising of Dr. S.C. Sarkar as the President, Professor B.B. Mukherjee and Harbans Lall as Secretary and Joint Secretary. The appeal of the Minister and the formation

of the committee was heartily welcomed and endorsed by the student community of Patna at a meeting held on March 30, 1938. In fact, there was immense and immediate response from the student community. Moreover the campaign had the backing of a number of all India leaders viz., Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Subhash Chandra Bose, Abul Kalam Azad, Ravindranath Tagore[19] etc. While the local press, especially the *Searchlight* gave wide coverage to literacy programme,[20] there were debates on the progress of MLC in the Legislative Council which gave unstinted support for the campaign.[21]

All the preparations for the launching of the campaign on 1st May, 1938, were completed in the month of April, Within this short period of one month, the following activities were successfully executed : (i) Formulation of the plan work; (ii) Preparation of teaching learning materials-charts and primers; (iii) Enrolment of Volunteers; and (iv) Training in the rapid method of teaching adults.

The task of developing teaching-learning materials was entrusted to a team of three teachers of the Patna-Training School, viz., Professor Durga Prasad, Babu Sheokumar Lall and Maulvi Alimullah. The team also oriented the professors and teacher's of the local educational institutions in the use of literacy materials and imparted training to the volunteers. While these activities were going on, a group of primary school teachers of Patna, conducted a census of illiterates in the city under the guidance of D.M. Sahay. As a result of the appeals made by the Education Minister through the Press and Public meetings, and a series of circulars sent by the D.P.I. to all the educational institutions, 1260 students and unemployed youth were recruited as literacy volunteers. One of the reasons for the large scale participation of people was due to the massive support from the different political parties and castes. Besides the organization of mass rallies (in which not only the Ministers but also prominent people

of the area participated), adoption of catchy slogans—"Down with Illiteracy", "Each One Teach One", also seem to have succeeded in motivating the illiterates and literacy volunteers. The volunteers came from the following educational institutions : Patna College (301), B.N. College (179), Science College (91), Patna Collegiate School (85), R.M.R. Seminary (105), T.K Ghosh Academy (84).[22] A sub-committee consisting of Principal A.K. Khan as the President and Rai Sahib Jadubir Prasad as the Secretary was set up to co-ordinate the work of the volunteers.

The literacy campaign commenced on 2nd May 1938 as scheduled primarily with the involvement of student volunteers from different colleges and schools in Bihar. Students of Patna College, G.B.B. College, Nalanda College, Ranchi, School, Madras. Islamia Shamsul Huda, B.N. College and D. J. College were the first few institutions to have shown interest in the programme. However, Patna College gave a lead in the literacy work.[23] The instances of literacy workers having shown extra-ordinary interest in terms of raising the required resources and devoting their time and energy for the organization and management of centres were plenty. While the majority of the people were appreciative of the voluntary effort towards eradication of illiteracy, certain communal leaders were opposed to imparting literacy to certain sections of society. In Shahbad and Gaya Districts, there were cases of literacy workers beaten up by high castes for organizing literacy centres for Harijans.[24] Notwithstanding the prejudice of a section of people, by and large the literacy work continued with full spirit during the vacation period—May-June 1938. Satisfied with the progress of the MLC, the Education Minister started exploring the possibilities of making it a permanent programme.[25]

The tempo of the campaign, however, slowed down in July mainly due to the onset of monsoon and reopening of

the schools and colleges. In several villages, there were no literate volunteers who could keep the flag of literacy flying when the students would return to their educational institutions after vacation. With the beginning of monsoon the farmers who constituted the bulk of learners, also dropped out of the centres to attend to farming. Although these two factors considerably slackened the pace and progress of literacy work during July-August 1938, by September the campaign had gathered momentum when the Dussehra vacation began and the students took over the reigns of the campaign. During the next two months, the campaign continued with full vigour. It was estimated that during the six months, nearly 37,000 literacy centres were in operation, catering to the needs of 5.89 lakh illiterates of whom about 3 lakh were estimated to have become literate. (See Table No. 4).

The key element of the literacy campaign was the adoption of rapid method of teaching adults within a short span of six weeks. According to this method, an illiterate person was imparted basic literacy within a period of four weeks and it was further reinforced and improved during the next two weeks. During the six week period, the adult learners were also exposed to a series of selected documentary films and lectures on several topics of their interest.[26] The frequent visit by the political leaders and officials of the Education Department to the literacy centres further gave an opportunity to the learners to interact with them and develop a feeling of importance.[27] In view of the short span of the programme and limited enrolment in each centre, it was possible to keep up the tempo of the programme and ensure the co-operation of all those who mattered. In the first phase, which lasted for a period of six months, there were three terms of six weeks each. On an average, a literacy centre had approximately fifteen adult learners.

In view of the exploratory nature of the campaign and

the limited time available for the preparation of the campaign, no systematic or sound procedure of monitoring and evaluation could be worked out in advance. The literacy work progressed primarily under the overall supervision of the respective Literacy Committees that were constituted during the course of the campaign at District, Sub-Divisional or Thane level. The existing Inspecting staff of the Education Department provided some assistance to the local Literacy Committees in the supervision of the centres.[28] This seems to be the weakest link in the campaign.

The biggest achievement of the campaign was the human and material resources raised mainly through the non-Governmental sources. The bulk of the literacy primers and teaching charts were gifted by the leading publishers of Bihar : Monghyr Publishing House, Barqui Machine Press, Pustak Bhandar. While the Municipality of Patna supplied eleven petromax lamps, Patna administration committee as well as the Minister of Education contributed Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 respectively to the Mass Literacy Fund.[29] The contributions from the different strata of society reiterated the social will and social commitment to the adult education.

As in the first phase, there were two clear cut stages during the second phase of the campaign which commenced in November-December 1938. The campaign during the second phase was characterised by the intensity of work in selected regions which was planned, executed and evaluated systematically. The decision to continue, streamline, strengthen and expand the campaign that was begun in May 1938, was taken at a Conference of Divisional Inspectors of Education Department held at Patna on the 27th and 28th July 1938 mainly due to tremendous interest and involvement of the masses in the programme.[30] Subsequently the Government of Bihar created a new organizational structure by constituting a Provincial Mass Literacy Committee comprising of 53 members and an Executive Committee consisting 22

members.[31] As the former committee was headed by the Education Minister and nearly 50 percent of members were from the Legislative Council, the literacy campaign commanded prestige as well as political patronage. The official commitment to and concern for its success was manifested in the liberal grant of Rs. 80,000 sanctioned by the Government of Bihar in July 1938.[32]

As per the revised plan of action, it was not only decided to continue the earlier campaign but also initiate intensive literacy programme in the selected Districts and sub-divisions with a view to imparting basic literacy to all the illiterates of the respective areas who belonged to the age group of 15-40 years. It was also decided to expand the scope of the campaign by including prisons, industrial establishments, cooperatives, banks and other non-Governmental organizations. Depending on the location and management, the Government of Bihar identified the following four types of literacy centres for grant and recognition : (i) Centres located in lower or upper primary schools ; (ii) Centres started by private associations which required assistance for meeting the contingent expenditure ; (iii) Centres organized by Colleges and H.E. Schools ; and (iv) Centres set up by Mills, factories, Zamindars, Jails and Police Associations. The first type was entitled for a capitation allowance of 5 annas per literate made while the second type was to be paid a grant in aid of Rs. 15 per annum while no payment was to be made to the other two.[33]

In the planning stage, considerable attention was also paid to the task of revising the curriculum. The Charts and Primers were revised by a Committee consisting of B. Mukherjee, S.M. Alam, S.K. Lall, S. Alimullah and A.S.N. Sahay. For the post-literacy programme, a syllabus was drawn up and the authors were invited to send manuscript for review and approval.

The following Thanes were selected for intensive work which was scheduled to commence from 1 December 1938 : (1) Maner (Patna), (2) Nawanagar (Shahbad), (3) Hasua (Gaya), (4) Lalganj (Muzaffarpur), (5) Ekma (Saran), (6) Jalley (Darbanga), (7) Pipra (Champaran), (8) Kharagpur (Monghyr), (9) Sultangarj (Bhagalpur), (10) Mahagama (S.P.), (11) Kashba (Purnea) (12) Dhanwar (Hazaribagh), (13) Lesliganj (Palamu), (14) Govindpur (Manbhum), (15) Baharagora (Singhblum), (16) Banka Sub-Division (Bhagalpur), (17) Simdega Sub-division (Ranchi).[34] In view of the vastness of the area and size of the population, the Banka Sub-Division was the first to be taken up for literacy work. while a period of one year was considered adequate to impart literacy to all the illiterates in the area, in other areas it was stipulated to eradicate illiteracy within a period of six months.

The literacy centres were set up in the villages only after the completion of the census of illiterates and formation of village level committees which were entrusted with the planning and management of the centres. Apart from the village level committees, similar committees were set up at sub-divisional and District Levels to co-ordinate, monitor and supervise the functioning of centres. All the committees had representatives from Education Department, political parties, bureaucracy and local community.

The experience of the first phase showed that the minimum period of six weeks for imparting basic literacy was too short to have any lasting impact and hence the duration of literacy programme was extended to a period of three months in the second phase. At the end of the period, a formal literacy test was conducted by an external committee of three qualified teachers of day-schools. The test included reading ten sentences from different pages of the primers, and writing the name of the self and village, counting from 21 to 50 and knowledge of basic arithmetics. As it was not

possible to exercise day to day supervision of the centres—presumably due to the absence of supervisors—the method of payment of honorarium on the basis of actual results was adopted, according to which, 5 annas per literate was paid to the teacher as a token honorarium towards rendering the "public service".[35]

The literacy campaign in Bihar was very flexible and broad based for it provided an opportunity to different types of agencies to take up literacy programme. The campaign was not an exclusive show of Education Department. Apart from the active involvement of the officials of the Education Department, a large number of congress party workers also played a key role in motivating and mobilising the illiterate learners. The religious organizations of the Christians and Hindus viz., Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, Sharadhanand Hindu Mission took active part in the organization of literacy programme.[36] The authorities of the Gaya, Bhagalpur and Chapra Jails, Tata Iron and Steel Work (Jamshedpur), New India Sugar Mills (Hassanpur), Dhanbad Coal Mines, certain Co-operative Societies and Banks in North Bihar also set up literacy centres at their respective institutions. However, the literacy campaign got a tremendous boost when the Prime Minister issued a notification stating that "all Chaukidars (Watchmen) below the age of 40 years should become literate within six months and that the police officers should give all possible encouragement to this movement", which finally culminated in setting up literacy centres at the police stations. It was reported that nearly 22,000 chaukidars were enrolled in the literacy centres during 1938-39.[37]

Since the ultimate success of literacy campaign depended on the provision of post literacy programme, the organizers of the campaign had worked out a detailed programme of post literacy mainly through circulating libraries and fortnightly news sheet called, "Roshini", (light)

which was edited by an Editorial Board consisting of Professors, K.M. Misra, S. Hassan and Brahmachary Shastri. The Editor in Chief was Professor A. Mann. The paper had a circulation of 30,000 and it contained selected news items and the language was based on the stock of words which the adult literates had learnt by reading the prescribed readers. One column was set apart for the neo-literates who were encouraged to write. Several existing libraries in Bihar were strengthened to start the circulating section. In selected institutions, viz., Patna College and T.K. Ghosh Academy, post literacy centres were set up.[18] A massive plan of establishing nearly 2500 libraries in Bihar was also worked out by the Mass Literacy Committee.

What was the response of the masses towards literacy campaign ? An analysis of enrolment figures in most of the areas selected for intensive campaign shows that in certain areas the percentage of enrolment (to the total number of educable illiterates) was as high as 80 percent. However, in terms of achievement, the number of people made literate was considerably lower. The enrolment figure for the period December 1938 to March 1939, showed that though 58 per cent of the target population was enrolled, only 45 per cent (1.47 lakh) of the enrolled were made literate. (See Table No. 5). The high rate of drop out was ascribed to the "incompetence of the teachers as well as the defective methods of teaching itself". The success rate, however showed an upward trend during the next quarter, when nearly 89 percent of the target population was enrolled of whom 74 percent (1.77 lakh) were made literate. (See Table No. 6). Notwithstanding the variations in enrolment and achievement figures from region, there was an overall acceptance of the programme by the masses irrespective of caste and creed. The literacy programme was especially welcomed by the weaker sections of the society viz., the Harijans and the Muslims. While the former constituted 12 percent of the total number

of Hindus under instruction, the latter formed about 8 percent of total enrolment in the province.[39]

According to the statistics prepared by the MLC during the first phase, 36561 centres were organized and 5,89,096 people were enrolled, of whom approximately 3 lakh were reported to have become literate. Compared to this, during the second phase only 3 lakhs people were enrolled (between December 38 to March 39) and half of them became literate. Half of the target population of illiterates was covered through the organisation of 14,259 centres and the efforts of 15,926 volunteers, of whom nearly two third were primary schools teachers and hence the literacy movement was regarded as the "business of the Education Department alone".[40] During the first ten months (May 1938 to 31st March 1939) the campaign made nearly 4.5 lakh people literate with a limited budget of Rs. 80,000.[41]

The Administrative Infra-structure and Financial Outlay of the Programme

It is rather unbelievable that a mass literacy campaign which covered nearly 4.5 lakh illiterates within a span of less than a year was primarily coordinated and managed by a professor of Patna College in addition to his regular duties. The commitment of the professor had no parallel in the history of adult education in Bihar. Not only did he spare a room at his residence for the campaign office but also worked with great zeal and that too without any remuneration. It was only after nine months that an office room was provided to him at the Patna College and some administrative support was given in the form of a part time assistant secretary (Babu Akhouri Shivanandan Sahay), and two clerks (one part-time) and a peon. There was neither an extensive infra-structure nor huge administrative expenditure towards office. Moreover, the officials of the Education Department, specially the Inspecting staff, provided supervisory support

without any additional pay or perks and hence the cost of the campaign remained nominal. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 9,416 incurred during the first phase of the campaign, the administrative expenditure was only 18 percent.[13] The bulk of the expenditure was incurred towards the purchase of equipment for the centre, viz., lanterns, slates and cost of oil (for details see Table No. 7).

As evident from the Table No. 7, the expenditure towards the literacy campaign in the second phase increased almost ten times. While there was no expenditure towards the honorarium of literacy instructors during the first phase, nearly 43 percent of the expenditure was incurred on that item alone during the second phase. If during the first phase, the contribution of the Government was hardly 4 percent of the total budget, it increased to 65 percent during the second phase. But the public contribution towards the literacy programme which was 74 percent in the first phase came down to 31 percent in the second phase. Similarly, the contribution from local bodies also remained drastically reduced during the second phase. Thus as the scope of the campaign was expanded, its voluntary character was considerably minimised and the programme became an official concern.

Why did the character of the campaign change from the first phase to the second? Did the change bring about any qualitative or quantitative improvement in the outcome of the campaign? Possibly, the shift in the character of the campaign was brought about by the Government in its eagerness to streamline and stabilise the campaign. It was felt that the exclusive involvement of the students was not adequate to cover the entire illiterates and hence the primary teachers were encouraged to take up the literacy work for which they were paid nominal honorarium unlike the student volunteers. However, an analysis of the enrolment and

achievement figures during the first and the second phase raises certain issues. With the involvement of the teacher volunteers in the second phase neither the enrolment of illiterates nor their achievement showed any upward trend compared to the first phase. While nearly three lakh became literate in the first phase by dint of the efforts of unpaid student volunteers, only 1.5 lakh became literate during the second phase and that too, with the involvement of 10,595 teacher volunteers which cost 48 per cent of the budget. Was it necessary to involve the teachers and incur the huge expenditure ?

The comparative picture of the progress of the movement during the first and second phases shows that mere expansion of the programme both in terms of human and material resources did not lead to any gain. Perhaps the expansion only brought about an increased and active involvement of the officials of Education Department. The differential achievement of the programme in both the phases also brings out the importance of non-teacher volunteers in terms of their efficiency as well as economy. This fact, seems to have been realised by the Government of Bihar after the 1st year of the campaign and hence, in the subsequent years, the percentage of non-teacher volunteers have been on the increase.

Impact and Problems

The organization of literacy campaign in Bihar seems to have had positive impact on the attitude of people towards education and life. It was reported that there was an "appreciable demand for the opening of new schools" from the areas (especially Shahbad District) where the campaign was extremely successful and in the already existing schools there was an increase in attendance ranging from 1 to 8 percent.[43] It was also noted that in Dumrama, Doranda and Kubri villages, where literacy work was successful, there was not only decrease in the consumption of alchohol but also

closure of the existing toddy shops.[44] The movement succeeded in "making a stir among the masses".[45]

The progress of literacy campaign was often hampered by communal clashes, national calamities and rigid attitude of certain local leaders. In Gaya and Shahbad districts, the organizers of the campaign had to encounter considerable opposition from many Brahmins, Rajputs and rich Zamindars for starting literacy centres for the poor and illiterate Harijan labourers.[46] The outbreak of communal disturbances in December 1938 and May 1939 in certain parts of Bihar especially in Champaran and Hazaribagh slackened the pace of work. Due to the rigid attitude of the local leadership towards girls education there was a paucity of women teachers who could organize literacy centres for women. The literacy work carried out by the Bihar Council of Women (Ranchi), Bihar Mahila Sangh (Patna), Aghore Mahila Samiti (Bankipore), The Ladies Literacy Committee (Gaya) gave "great impetus to the movement".[47] In March 1939, there were 291 women's centres with 4084 learners on the roll of whom hardly 37 per cent became literate.[48] Although the Bihar Government set up a committee of Ladies and sanctioned a sum of Rs. 5,000, the amount could not be fully utilised due to the dearth of educated women in Bihar who could take up literacy work. In view of this, a novel experiment was initiated in the Purnea District by S.M. Alam, Inspector of Schools, by organising "Little Teachers Movement" on the Chinese model. Under this experiment, 62 boys (aged 10) of Kasba Middle School (English) were trained to teach their female relatives and women in the neighbourhood. It was reported that the boys apart from raising funds for oil and slates, succeeded in making as many as 150 women literate within a period of three months.[49]

A review of the Mass Literacy Campaign in Bihar during 1938-39 shows how an interplay of a number of factors contributed to its success. Firsr of all, the MLC had

dedicated and dynamic leadership of the Education Minister of Bihar, full bureaucratic co-operation and above all the mass support—all of which are inevitable for the successful operation of a programme—could blend harmoniously due to the prevailing socio-political climate. Secondly, in the absence of an elaborate administrative machinery the channel of communication remained smooth and clear and instructions were instantly followed. The frequent visits of dignitaries to the literacy centres enhanced the prestige of the programme in the eyes of illiterate masses who then, began to enroll in the centres. The active role played by the Education Minister in the mobilisation and motivation of illiterate masses in the initial phase remains as one of the most striking factor which placed the literacy campaign on the road to success. By recognising the excellent work done by certain literacy workers and honouring them with certificates and medals, the Government not only recognised their work but also reinforced their motivation and commitment towards literacy programme. By declaring July 14 as the Bihar Literacy Day cum a State holiday, and organizing a series of mass processions and public meetings on that day, the Government of Bihar tried to raise the awareness of masses towards literacy programme.[51] The adult literacy work in Bihar (1938-39), which showed how a successful campaign could be organized within a shorter duration and with limited resources remains as a classic model in the history of Indian Adult Education. The stream of visitors from all parts of India to Bihar to study the literacy campaign and the enormous demand for the Bihar literacy materials bear testimony to its success.

The Mass Literacy Campaign Enters Second Year (1939-40)

The beginning of the second year of the campaign on 1st October, 1939, was marked by significant political and international develcpments which had long term implications

for adult education. With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and the registration of the Congress Ministry in Bihar in October 1939 –presumably due to the differences with the British Government on the issue of the powers of the Governor General and the British attitude towards War--the literacy programme lost much of the political patronage on which it was thriving. More than these extraneous factors it was the realization by the leaders of the programme that the wave of popular enthusiasm which had contributed to the success of the programme, would diminish in course of time,[51] that seems to have brought changes in the policy towards the programme. Though education becomes the first casuality during War, in the case of adult education in Bihar it was not so. The attitude of the Government towards the programme did not change. When the Congress Ministry resigned and the Education Minister ceased to be the President of the Provincial Mass Literacy Committee, the Government immediately appointed E.R.J.R. Cousins, Adviser to the Governor of Bihar to fill up the post. Compared to previous years the Government of Bihar allocated an increased grant of Rupees two lakhs towards the literacy programme,[52] thereby demonstrating the apparant official concern for and commitment to the cause. The real motive of the continued colonial support to the literacy programme was to keep the students and unemployed youth busy so that they would refrain from anti-British activities during the war times.

Notwithstanding the favourable attitude of the colonial rulers towards literacy programme in Bihar, there was a lull in the progress of adult education. It was primarily due to the outbreak of the war which gave rise to a sort of fear among the masses that they were being made literate for recruitment in the army and hence there was a decrease in the attendance in several literacy centres. Besides, with the deputation of the staff of the Education Department to

Defence services, the literacy programme remained neglected. In this context, a policy of consolidation and cautious advance which emphasised quality rather than quantity was adopted towards literacy programme. The qualitative improvements were sought to be achieved through the following means : (i) Reduction in the number of literacy centres (upto one hundred per district); (ii) Initiating intensive work in one Thane per district; (iii) strengthening of post-literacy programme by preparing more books for neo-literates and supplying them to the existing libraries and setting up new libraries; (iv) Improving the quality of training; and (v) Strengthening the supervision.[53]

As in the previous year the literacy programme was taken up in two stages : Planning stage and Implementation stage. In the first stage which spread over August and September, the following activities were taken up : (i) House to house census of illiterates; (ii) Selection and training of Instructors; and (iii) Propaganda work and formation of Committees.

The literacy work in the second year was intensive in character and confined to twenty selected Thanas covering an illiterate population of 1,79,400. (See Table No. 8). There were paid organizers to help in the organization, and propaganda work. Their allowance varied from Rs. 5 to 15 per month.[54] Besides there were 20,567 literacy instructors, of whom nearly two third belonged to the category of non-teachers. As Table No. 9 shows, the percentage of non-teachers increased over the period and the emerging trend was to encourage the voluntary workers. Compared to non-intensive areas the number of volunteers were more in intensive areas. As on 31.3.1940, nearly 76 percentage were volunteers.[55] The educational qualifications of the volunteers ranged from lower primary to matriculation. An analysis of the educational background of the volunteers in Ramgarh Thana showed that 42.8 per cent were upper

primary passed, 32.3 per cent had education upto middle and only one per cent were matriculates.[56] The occupational background of the volunteers varied considerably. While 58.71 percentage of the volunteers were cultivators, 8.6 per cent belonged to student community. The rest were from teaching profession, business community and service class. (See Table No. 10).

Apart from the literacy work initiated by the Government of Bihar in the twenty selected Thanas, a number of agencies viz., Industries, Sugar Mills, Jails, Co-operative Societies, Banks, Rural Development Department, the Christian Missions of Chotanagpur, Jharia Coal Field Labour Welfare Committee, Central Night Schools Association also took interest in the programme and set up literacy centres in non-intensive areas.[57] Due to the initiative of Rai Saheb Ram Saran Upadhya, Secretary to the Basic Education Board, 32 literacy centres with an enrolment of 818 learners were organized in Champaran District.[58] Adult Education was included in the curriculum of the Basic Training Schools in Patna. 427 women centres were also organised with the help of 421 women workers and 21,333 illiterates were enrolled of whom 59 per cent became literate during the year 1939-40.[59] The literacy programme in the jails showed tremendous progress since the neo-literate prisoners were given some remission from the prison term. At a convocation of literate prisoners held at Gaya Central Jail, the Education Minister awarded literacy certificate to 150 prisoners. Since the attainment of literacy was made as a pre-condition for confirmation as police constables, the literacy programme in Jails became all the more successful.[60] It was reported that eight sugar mills set up 96 literacy centres which made 3,071 persons literate. The Education Institutions which organized 458 literacy centres with the involvement of 6,783 student volunteers, made 18,155 persons literate. Of this as many as 11,177 people were

made literate by 4,438 students at their own homes or neighbourhood under "Make Your Home Literate Campaign" and "Little Teachers Troops". As in the previous year, the Patna College, Bihar National College, ST. Columbus College, Tej Narain Jubilee College, and Nalanda College took active part in the literacy programme.[61]

During the year 1939-40, there were 18,878 literacy centres with an enrolment of 7,74,206 people, of whom 4,13,482 were made literate. (53.40 per cent). Of the literates 86 per cent (3,55,602) were due to the work of Education Department. The contribution of college and school students was only 4.39 per cent while that of Jails was 6.22 per cent. Women centres made 2.2 percent literate.[62] It was calculated that during October 1938 to March 1939, 67 percent, (1,21,213) of the total illiterates in the twenty selected intensive Thanes were enrolled in 3,650 centres of whom 48 per cent (87,133) became literate. It shows that the contribution of Intensive areas to literacy was about 21 per cent.[63] According to an estimate 14.45 per cent of literates belonged to Harijans.[64] It was noted that the educationally backward communities failed to take full advantage of the literacy programme mainly due to their conservative attitude and shortage of teachers from their respective communities.

There was adequate provision for post literacy programme. It was reported that 66.3 per cent of the neo-literate joined the post literacy classes during April, 1939 to March 1940. Of the 2,25,953 persons who passed literacy test during December 1938-July 1939, 1,49,521 were enrolled in post literacy classes.[65] Moreover, there was a wide network of libraries to cater to the needs of neo-literates. Nearly 4,000 libraries were set up in the selected Thanes which started functioning in January 1940 under the supervision of the local sub-inspector of schools. The fortnightly

newsheet, "Rohini" also continued to be published and circulated among the post literacy centres and libraries.[66]

While the share of Government expenditure towards literacy programme increased from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 2 lakh during 1939 40, there was considerable decrease in the contributions from non-governmental sector. The receipt from the public decreased from Rs. 39,217 in 1938 to Rs. 18,498 during 1939-40. The nominal contributions from non-governmental sources to women's centres implies to a certain extent the conservative attitude of the public towards women's education. It was calculated that per capita cost of making an adult literate amounted to 7.9 annas.[67] Although the expenditure towards literacy programme increased by 150 percent during 1939-40, there was practically a decrease in the absolute number of literate. Compared to 1.5 lakh literates made during 1939-40, 4.5 lakh were imparted literacy in the previous year. The literacy programme became more expensive. The success of the programme seems to have attracted the attention of outsiders and motivated the All India Adult Education Association as well as All India Library Association to hold their annual sessions at Bhagalpur and Patna respectively.[68] A stream of distinguished educationists from Assam, Orissa, Bombay and Delhi visited Bihar with a view to learning from the Bihar experiment. As evident from the Table No. 11, Bihar topped in terms of the number of Educational Institutions involved in literacy programme and enrolment, and had the largest network of libraries in British India and its contribution to literacy was also the largest.

Tha Progress of Mass Literacy Campaign (1941-47): Expansion of Post-Literacy Frogramme and Libraries

The survival of the literacy campaign notwithstanding the impact of the Second World War and the resignation of Congress Ministry shows its importance as well as inevitability in tackling the problem of illiteracy. The colonial

regime continued to provide financial support to the campaign for a period of 3 years. It could be argued that while the British supported the movement mainly to divert the attention of the students and the educated masses from the ongoing freedom struggle, the Indian leaders viewed it as a means of keeping in touch with the masses and mobilising and motivating them to participate in the freedom movement. However, with the resignation of the Congress Ministry, the steam out of the movement had gone for it was deprived of the charismatic leadership of Congress Ministers and it became an official activity of the Education Department. The annual progress reports for the years 1940-44 show consistent increase in the number of literates. Since 1941, post literacy programmes were strengthened and large number of village libraries were set up. During the period 1940-44, nearly 8,000 libraries were established and about 12 lakh people were made literate. (See Table No. 12). It was observed that 60 percent of the literacy centres wers set up by the Education Department and more than 60 per cent of the instructors were either student volunteers or non-professional teachers. It shows the Government policy of implementing the literacy programme mainly through the involvement of volunteers.

How and why did the Government succeed in involving the non-professional teachers and students in the Mass Literacy Campaign? One of the factors that seem to have motivated the volunteers was the recognition accorded to their excellent work by the Government in the form of incentives viz., literacy certificates, medals and trophies, apart from the nominal honorarium to which they were entitled. The observation of the literacy day as a public holiday and organisation of public meetings and processions on that day, created a conducive environment for the successful operation of the programme. It could be possible that many a literacy volunteer came forward considering the literacy work as *sine*

qua non for achieving freedom in the context of colonialism. It was more so because the literacy programme was basically conceived and initiated by the leaders of the freedom movement. The active involvement of eminent Indian leaders in literacy programme and the background of freedom struggle provided a unique setting for the successful growth of literacy movement during 1938-44. The literacy movement which emerged as a powerful mass programme in 1939-40 got transformed into an officially sponsored stereotyped activity by 1943-44. With the gradual change in the set up brought about by the decreasing involvement of the leaders—presumably due to their more active involvement in freedom movement, the character and the tempo of the literacy programme were affected. Infact, by 1944 when the *Report of the Post-War Educational Development in India*, suggested a 25 year plan for the development of Indian education, a long term programme for the eradication of illiteracy was worked out. To cuote :

> the problem of liquidating illiteracy and establishing effective arrangements for adult education must be tackled as quickly as possible. Once a comprehensive system of national education has been inaugurated it might be feasible to complete the work of adult literacy within twenty five years.[69]

In view of the urgency of the problem and lack of resources, Committee recommended a campaign approach and highlighted the importance of devoting the first five years to the necessary preparations. The committee observed that the responsibility of adult education must rest with the State.[70]

The recommendations of the Sargeant Committee were accepted by the Government of Bihar, which prepared a five year campaign at the total cost of Rs. 1,475 (4.5 percent) of the Education budget to be operated mainly through the basic primary schools and voluntary workers.[71] Before those

recommendations could be implemented, India became free in 1947. Since the attention of the Government was focussed on the problems caused by the partition of the country and rehabilitation of refugees, the educational programme were put on a low key.

The continuous operation of the campaign over a decade (1938-47) when the Indian society, polity and economy was in turmoil and transition, succeeded in laying the foundation for future adult education programme in Bihar. Apart from creating a cadre of well oriented administrators and literacy workers, the campaign led to the production of a variety of teaching-learning materials. Of all the motivational strategies, it was the personal involvement of the Education Minister that provided the spark to campaign. The success of the campaign in motivating and mobilising the masses for literacy programme, especially during the first year, in fact sustained the tempo of the campaign for a long time. The driving force behind the campaign was primarily political. If the Congress regime viewed the MLC as a strategy for keeping in touch with the masses and organising and educating them to achieve freedom, the Colonial rulers aimed at keeping the potential trouble shooters—the educated unemployed youth—busy by entrusting them with literacy work. Hence, there was not only steady support from the Government but also regular budgetary allocations to the literacy programme. Even during the war period, there was no cut in the funds for adult education and hence the MLC in Bihar continued. The continuous operation of the literacy programme had created a conducive and receptive atmosphere in Bihar for the successful implementation of adult education programme in future.

CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF SOCIAL EDUCATION IN BIHAR (1948-67)

The emergence of India as an independent and democratic nation brought about certain basic changes in the policy and programme of adult education. Not only the prevalent colonial policy towards adult education was reviewed by the Government of India but also new programmes were developed to cater to the changing needs of a democratic nation. The Constitution of India which defined the role of the Government of India (centre) vis a vis State Governments, made the latter responsible for the adult education programme[1]. Since the Centre designed the adult education policy for the entire country, developed suitable programmes, provided the major share of finances to States to implement the adult education programme and coordinated the overall activities,[2] it assumed a dominant and decisive role in shaping the growth of adult education in independent India.

The development of a new policy towards adult education in independent India was necessitated due to a variety of socio-economic and political factors. However, it could be argued that more than these factors it was the leadership in adult education, especially the Education Minister of the Government of India who played a key role in evolving a new adult education policy. The successful operation of the Mass Literacy Campaign during the decade 1938-47, had awakened the massess, their organizations and leaders—both

within and outside the Government—to the role of adult education in development and made them conscious of the need to strengthen the programme. Since India at the time of independence was economically backward and extremely underdeveloped and had a low literacy rate of 16.6 per cent[3], the leadership realized that freedom had no meaning for the ignorant and least developed masses unless it was made tangible through activities which helped them improve their social and econmic conditions. Although, adult education was an inevitable component of several developmental programmes of Government of India and recognised as one of the two top priority programmes in education,[4] it was felt that the prevalent colonial pattern of adult education was too inadequate to meet the growing needs and aspirations of a democratic nation where every adult would have certain rights and responsibilities which they would find it difficult to discharge without the basic education. How to design a dynamic adult education programme was one of the challenges before the professional adult educators as well as the Government of India.

The issue of adult education remained side tracked during 1947-48 mainly due to the partition of the country which had paved the way for the displacement of millions of people, disruption of social life and depletion of resources. Although the main attention of the Government and leaders was focussed on the problem of rehabilitation of refugees, the idea of developing an appropriate adult education programme for the refugees as well as non refugees continued to be the concern of officials and non-officials in the early yeers of freedom. The Indian Adult Education Association, a non-official organization of professional adult educators took up the task of "reviewing the role of adult education and reinterpreting its functions in a democratic set up in their annaul conference held in Rewa during 29-31 December, 1947. It was observed that "adult education must aim at enabling

the common man to live a richer life in all its aspects—social, economic, cultural and moral" and for the first time, the social aspect of adult education was emphasised by the professional adult educators[5].

The recommendations of the non-official body—Indian Adult Education Association were taken seriously by the official body—CABE, which appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Shri Mohan Lal Saxena, the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of India, on 15 January 1948 to work out a detailed "scheme for adult education and literacy". The Committee comprising of seven eminent educationists of India, viz. Humayun Kabir, Mata Prasad, K.G. Saiyadain, V.S. Jha, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and M.K. Sidhanta, felt the need for giving a new orientation to the scheme of adult education and suggested the importance of laying "greater emphasis on the social aspect" and hence coined the term social education. Defining the objectives and operational details of the programme of social education, the committee aimed at achieving the target of 50 percent literacy within a period of five years mainly through provincial efforts[6].

These recommendations (which were accepted by the CABE with minor modifications at its meeting held at Allahabad during 6-9 January 1949 and the Conference of Provincial Members of Education held in New Delhi during 19-20 February) formed the basis of social education programme in India during 1950's. However, the credit for popularising the idea and translating it into programme goes to the then Minister for Education, Maulana Azad who evinced special interest in the programme and was keen to make "an immediate start with the new scheme" notwithstanding the financial stringency[7]. The fact that a decision was taken to earmark a sum of one crore of rupees for the social education (out of the total education budget of Rs. 20 crores) shows the official concern for and commitment to

adult education. It was stated that 90 percent of the proposed budget for social education should be distributed among provinces in proportion to the number of illiterates while the remaining 10 percent should be reserved for central activities[9]. Accordingly it was decided to allot a sum of Rs. 14,86,000 (16 percent) to Bihar which had an estimated illiterate population of 16 percent, comprising of 3.2 crores (out of 20 crore illiterates in India). The deteriorating finances caused by the failure of crops in 1950-51 and rehabilitation of refugees restrained the Government of India from honouring the commitment, and instead, the actual expenditure incurred by the provinces was reimbursed.

While the new adult education policy was in the making, the adult education programme in Bihar continued uninterruptedly on the old pattern of one hundred literacy centres per Thana. It was calculated that during 1947-48, there were 2750 literacy centres which had an enrolment of 49,747 adults, of whom nearly two third became literate[10].

The Government of Bihar switched over to the new policy of social education in Jan. 1950 with a view to liquidating illiteracy by 50 percent during the next five years[11]. Since the then Minister of Education, Acharya Badri Nath Verma, was keen to keep up the tradition of leadership of Bihar in the field of adult education, the programme was taken up with "a sense of sincerity and seriousness"[12]. The social education defined as a "course of study directed towards the production of consciousness of citizenship among the people and promotion of social solidarity among them", had three aspects : (i) The spread of literacy among grown up illiterates, (ii) the production of an educated mind in the masses in the absence of literacy education and (iii) The inculcation of a lively sense of rights and duties of citizenship—both as individuals and as members of a powerful nation[13]. The content of social education programme included (i) Health and Hygiene, (ii) Family and Community

Living, (iii) Vocations, (iv) Literacy, (v) Cultural activities and, (vi) Recreational activities. The duration of the programme was 180 hours, to be spread over 90 days—on an average of 2 hours per day. The teacher student ratio was 1 : 30. The programme was to be undertaken especially but not exclusively by the primary school teachers who were paid an honorarium of Rs. 10/- per month and a recurring allowance of Rs. 25 and Rs. 11 per year for contingencies. The target group was the illiterates of 12-40 years. A detailed syllabus for the training of Instructors was also prepared[14].

The most striking feature of social education programme in Bihar was its institutional setting. Unlike other provinces, in Bihar renowned educational institutions were entrusted with the task of implementation of social education programme. These institutions combined social education for adults with the social service for students. Each institution was expected to work through a number of "squads', constituting of a leader (who was a teacher) and on an average of 4-5 students. The number of squads per institution varied according to their type and size. On an average, the college had 10 squads, while high and middle schools had 3 squads each[15].

The roles and responsibilities of the members of the squad were clearly laid down. The student members of the squad were expected to conduct the survey of the selected area, chalk out the programme of work and prepare reports. While the teacher was expected to visit the area atleast twice a week, each student visited the area daily in turns. Each squad had a target of imparting literacy to 60 adults per year. Each squad was equipped with 2 lanterns, 1 blackboard, charts and 60 sets of slates, 1 set of musical instrument, 1 tin of kerosene per month. The teachers of the squads were given fourteen days refresher course at District Headquarters[16].

A striking feature of the social education programme in Bihar was the emphasis laid on the recreational and cultural activities. In order to organize the programme of songs, drama, kathak, Bhajans and Kirtans, the Government of Bihar recruited a group of professional artists and clubbed them into six entertainment parties (Mod Mandalies). These six Mod Mandalies were placed at Patna, Chapra, Muzzafarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Ranchi districts and they functioned under the control of the respective district Inspector of schools[17].

The programme of social education in the State was co-ordinated by a Deputy Director with the assistance of four Divisional superintendents of Basic and social education. There were separate advisory committees at the provincial and District levels to provide overall guidance to the programme. The provincial Board of social education was presided over by the Minister of Education and had forty eminent members representing different departments[18]. On the one hand, the Government tried to include influential non-officials in advisory committees and thereby seek their cooperation in the organization of adult education programmmes and on the other hand by encouraging certain non Governmental organizations to take up adult education programmes, the Government tried to expand the social base of the programme. Some of the prominent non-Governmental organizations involved in the social education programmes in Bihar during early 1950's were, viz., Janata Hitarssi Pustkalaya, Shahabad; Shivaji Pustakalaya, Darbanga; Ramkrishna Mission Vivekananda Society, Jamshedpur; Satsang Association, Muzzafarpur; Madhuwan Adivasi Seva Sansta, Purnea; Durga Pustakalay, Bairaique; Shree Shankar Pustakalay, Champaran; and Gandhi Pustakalya, Patna[19]. The Government of Bihar adopted several strategies to broaden the mass base of social education and make the people conscious of the need of literacy. The first day in

the month of November was declared as social education day and observed as a public holiday to focus the public attention on social education[20].

The systematic attempts made by the Government of Bihar towards the promotion of social education yielded instant results. During 1949-50, 2020 literacy centres were set up in Bihar with an enrolment of 43270 of whom nearly 46 percent were made literate. In this task 1884 teachers, 10241 students and 150 volunteers were actively involved and a sum of Rs. 3,85,460 was spent. The bulk of the expenditure (97.4 percent) was from the Government sources. During the next year both the expenditure and enrolment doubled[21]. Yet the percentage of expenditure on social education to total expenditure on education in Bihar during 1951-52 was meager 0.8 per cent[22]. Inspite of this nominal State expenditure on social education, the achievements of Bihar were remarkable. According to an estimate during the period 1947-51, Bihar enrolled 2,24,085 illiterates of whom nearly half were made literate[23]. Besides, there was systematic expansion of library system in the State. The Government of Bihar provided a grant of Rs. 15 per month to the circulating libraries which increased from 300 to 320 during the year 1951-52. The prominent public libraries in Bihar were the Central Library at Patna and district libraries at Ranchi, Chabas, Dumka and Purnea[24].

The impact of the social education programme on literacy has been significant. Of the 33 lakh illiterates in 1941, nearly 63 per cent (21 lakh) were made literate through the Mass Campaign and social education programme that were in operation during the period 1941-51[25]. Yet there was no significant increase in the percentage of literacy in Bihar; it increased from 9.2 to 12.8 during the period and it was felt that there was a need for further strengthening the literacy programme. Although the inclusion of social education in the First Five Year Plan, reiterated the official

commitment to the programme and there was an increased consciousness among the authorities, it could not take off due to an unusually bad crop and the inflationary pressures within Indian economy which resulted in the shortage of resources.[26]

The First Five Year Plan allocated a sum of Rs. 5 crores for social education programmes in India and it was made an integral part of the community development programme which aimed at "community uplift through community action" covering agriculture, irrigation, communication, education, health, social welfare etc. The Plan stated that social education approach must permeate all programmes of State aid to the people[27]. The integration of social education into the community development programme was based on the premise that any large scale and effective programme for adult literacy must be based on the closest possible cooperation at every level of personnel engaged in education and in community development and for that social education and adult literacy have to be developed as extension activities undertaken by educational institutions, especially village schools in collaboration with Panchayats, Cooperatives and Voluntary Organizations.

The Community Development Programme was conceived as centre based programme at block level. A number of blocks constituted a project. While the Block Development Officer was responsible for the overall implementation of the project in the area, a Chief Social Education Officer supervised the social education programme which was carried out at grass root level by a male and a female social education organiser. While the course content of social education programme under community development did not differ from the earlier one, the duration of the programme was increased from 6 to 10 months and divided into two stages of five months each. Although the main course was

completed in the first stage, follow up activities were taken up in the second stage[29].

As the social education programme expanded and the number of social education workers increased, the need for a training institution was felt. It was fulfilled when a Janata College at Turki was established. Besides, four Jatra Parties were also set up for mobilising and motivating the villagers through cultural programmes. Audio-visual equipments, and films were distributed among diffierent centres. A weekly Journal "Jan Jeevan" replaced the earlier "Roshini" as a part of post literacy material. During the first Five Years, it was estimated that 2125 social education centres functioned in Bihar, which made 2,38,053 persons literate at a cost of 50 lakhs[30]. Of the 2125 centres, 250 urban and 100 rural centres were set up under the relief programme to the educated unemployed. While Government of India spent 4.5 per cent of the education budget (5 crores) and made 35 lakhs literate, the Government of Bihar spent 0.8 percentage of the state education budget and made 5.7 per cent of the total literate in India[31].

The basic approach towards social education and the budget allocation for it remaining the same during the First and Second Five Year Plans, there was strengthening of the administrative infrastructure, added emphasis on the expansion of training facilities, increased production of audio-visual equipment and expansion of library system in Bihar. Bihar was the only State in India in 1950's to have had an officer of a Joint Director level for social education programme with four Divisional Social Education officers, District Social Education officers and Social Education organizers[32]. Unlike other states in India, Bihar broadened the concept of social education and introduced "Sapta Sutri Yajana" (Seven Point Programme) as an approach to social education. The seven components of this programme were as follows : (i) Adult

literacy and education to children deprived of normal education in schools; (ii) Individual and community cleanliness; (iii) Health, sanitation and medical (iv) Recreation and culture (v) Campaign against social evils (vi) Economic improvement and (vii) Publication and publicity[33]. Nearly 50 per cent of the budget for social education in Bihar was earmarked for the expansion of the Janta College and establishment of new libraries and production of audio visual equipments and the remaining amount was meant for meeting the expenditure towards appointment of District Social Education officers and setting up community centres[34].

It has been observed that in spite of the excellent infrastructure and innovative planning and provision of budget, Bihar had a short fall in expenditure to the extent of 73 per cent during the second Five Year Plan; out of the total allocation of Rs. 54.56 lakhs for social education, Bihar could spend only Rs. 14.75 lakhs and that too mainly towards the salary of the staff. An analysis of expenditure pattern shows that Bihar did not allot any money towards production of audio-visual aids or literature. Compared to 22.4 percentage (Rs. 3.07 lakhs) of expenditure incurred on adult literacy, Bihar spent 58.7 per cent (Rs. 9.64 lakhs) on libraries. Thus Bihar could utilise only 27 per cent of the allocated budget on social education compared to 70 percent utilisation for the whole of India[35]. It was mainly due to the "defective planning and problems of financial administration"[36]. Thus, in spite of conducive atmosphere, committed officers and innovative programme, Bihar lagged behind other States in the promotion of literacy. Had there been a dynamic leader like Dr. Syed Mahmud, the fate would have been different.

The thrust on the development of libraries in Bihar continued during the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans. Out of the sanctioned amount of Rs. 40.90 lakhs during the Third Plan nearly 78 percent (Rs. 31.97 lakhs) was earmarked for the development of new libraries in Bihar, strengthening the

old ones and imparting training in library science to unemployed graduates. The same trend continued during the Fourth Plan, which allocated a sum of Rs. 29.75 lakh for libraries out of Rs. 48.95 earmarked for social education[37]. The second decade after independence witnessed the introduction of literacy programme for illiterate industrial workers. The Coal Mines Welfare Organisation at Dhanbad provided excellent facilities for workers education[39]. In this period, there was a gradual growth of voluntary sector in social education in Bihar. During 1957-61, the Government of India sanctioned a sum of Rs. 32,033 to the voluntary organizations in Bihar[40]. Some of the prominent voluntary agencies were Santhal Pargana Gramodyog Samittee, Deogar (1956), Shram Bharati Khadigram, Mongyr (1952), K.R. Educational Association, Bettiah (1929) Gram Nirman Mandal, Nawada (1954), Sarvodaya Seva Sangh, Bhagalpur (1952).

Apart from emphasising the consolidation and expansion of existing institutions of social education the Fourth Plan also highlighted the need to adopt mass programme on the pattern of Gram Shikshan Mohim[41]. However, the mass programme was not initiated due to the dearth of resources. In fact, the resources were so scarce that the Government of Bihar was forced to wind up the separate administrative structure of adult education in 1967. While nobody in the Government of Bihar was either interested in or committed to adult education, there was a dearth of professional leadership in the State who could have argued the case for adult education. There was official apathy and public aloofness towards adult education in Bihar during late sixtees. Thus, the social education which made its debut in Bihar as a dynamic programme in the early 50's mainly due to the personal interest of the then Education Minister Acharya Badri Nath Verma and D.B. Shastry, the Deputy Director in charge of social education[42] remained neglected after the exit of the two key personnel and terminated in course of time.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHANGING FACETS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN BIHAR (1968-87)

The publication of two key official documents viz., *Report of the Education Commission (1964-66)* and *Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education (1967)* gave a new lease to the life of Indian adult education which was on the brink of disintegration in many parts of India and had in fact become a least priority programme in Bihar by 1967. In a move to resusciate the adult education in Bihar, the State Government submitted a memorandum to the Education Commission highlighting the need for launching a mass literacy movement[1]. Appreciating the suggestion, the Commission observed that unless the contents of adult education programmes are not related to the occupations of adult illiterates, the programme would remain ineffective[2]. It was argued that since liquidation of mass illiteracy would be essential for accelerating agricultural production as well quickening the tempo of national development the literacy programme should be work based and functionality oriented[3]. It was suggested that the programme should be implemented through the "Selective and Mass approaches" by involving the teachers and students over a long period of 20 years as a "cohesive and sustained national effort"[4]. At the same time it was clarified that the function of adult education in a democracy should be "to provide every adult citizen with an opportunity for education of the type which he wishes and which he should have for his personal enrich-

ment, professional enhancement and effective participation in social and political life"[5]

The idea of functional literacy and involvement of students in literacy programme was seriously taken up by the Government of Bihar. In the *White Paper of Educational Reconstruction in Bihar,* the State Government proposed "Holiday Schools" to spread literacy by involving youth who were expected to teach five adults an hour a day and thrice a week[6]. Besides it was proposed to set up traditional literacy centres (with a teacher student ratio of 1 : 20-25) in each of the 1,16,000 habitations and organise a programme of functional literacy in agricultural and industrial areas by harnessing the services of extension workers and enlisting the cooperation of agricultural department and All India Radio. The white paper also stressed the importance of setting up libraries at Block level and publishing literature for neo literates[6].

Farmers Functional Literacy Programme

The new emphasis on the functional approach to adult education was fully endorsed by the Fourth Five Year Plan and the sixtees saw the emergence of the concept of functional literacy. Defined as "literacy integrated with the occupation of the learner and directly related to development"[9] the concept of functional literacy was translated into action when the Unesco designed the Experimental World Literacy Programme which provided an opportunity to India to develop Farmers Training and Functional Literacy Project (FTFLP). This project, which was in operation during (68-78) aimed at improving the efficiency of the farmers in the implementation of the special programme of High Yielding Varieties of wheat that was selected by the Government of India for enhancing agricultural production and development. The project had three components viz., farmers training (2) functional literacy and (3) farm broadcasting.

It was observed that neither the farmers training nor the increased or improved physical inputs could by themselves achieve much if the farmer remained illiterate and hence the functional literacy was inbuilt into the project as a key component with the following objectives : To enable the farmers to (i) read and understand labels on fertilizer bags; (ii) fill up loan application form, input cards and maintain accounts. The FTFL project was jointly undertaken by the three Ministries—Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Information and Broadcasting, and Education and Culture, and it aimed at training about 5 million farm families in 100 Selected H Y P-districts and imparting functional literacy to one million adults at the cost of ninety million rupees. Besides the project also received the UNDP and Unesco assistance[10].

The organizational structure and programme components of FTFL project were worked out in detail by the Government of India. The FTFL project was conceived as centre based programme with a teacher student ratio of 1 : 30. The project was confined to 3 HYP districts in a State and the maximum number of centres per district was limited to 60 and they were under the charge of a project officer who was assisted by six part time supervisors (each with 10 centres) or two full time supervisors (each with 30 centres). While the part time supervisors were paid Rs. 50 per month, the teacher received Rs. 30 per month. The duration of functional literacy programme was one year and it was organized in two phases of six months each. Each phase had 150 hours of effective teaching. The programme implemented on all working days and on an average of one and half hours daily. The learning materials were region specific and problem oriented and the Directorate of Adult Education (New Delhi) prepared the first book entitled *Kisan Saksharata Pehli Pustak*, Teacher's guide and supplementary readers. The detailed guidelines for the implementation of the project was prepared by the Government of India and

the States were requested to follow the directives of the centre[11].

The FTFL project made its debut in Bihar during 1969-70 when 120 centres were started in the districts of Dharbanga and Shahabad. During the next year, the project covered Ranchi and Purnea districts. But the project did not take off in Bihar due to the absence of well trained personnel and locally relevant curriculum. Bihar had to depend exclusively on the materials developed by the Literacy House, Lucknow and Bengal Social Service League, Calcutta which were found to be rather unsuitable to the local conditions[12]. In the absence of infrastructure facilities for training, and local expertise for developing teaching-learning materials, Bihar could not even give a fair trial to the FTFL project which did not "click with the farmers"[13]

The recommendation of Kothari Commission that adult education programme should be implemented through selective and mass approaches and the services of students and teachers should be utilised in making the programme a national movement was taken up seriously by the Ministry of Education, Government of India and the States were encouraged to take up mass programmes on the model of Gramshikshan Mohim and over a long period of 20 years. Accordingly it was proposed to introduce mass programme in Gaya District and one block in each of the remaining districts. Although the Planning Commission approved an outlay of Rs. 0.75 lakh to Bihar to implement a pilot project on mass literacy during the Fourth Plan[14], the State did not take up the programme due to the paucity of personnel[15]. With the outbreak of Indo Pak War in 1971, the mass programme was shelved. Thus, in the beginning of 1970's Bihar had no major programme of adult education.

Non Formal Education Programme

The educational strategy of the Fifth Five Year Plan was based on the assumption that "non-formal ways of

imparting and acquiring education would be developed for all categories of learners and at all levels of education[16]. It was felt that the mere reliance on formal education could not cover all the educational needs in India and hence the "exclusive emphasis on formal education should be given up and a large element of non formal education should be introduced within the system"[17] to cater to the large number of illiterate youth. Based on one per cent sample it was calculated that India had 526 lakh illiterates in the age group 15-25 during 1975 of which Bihar had 65 lakh (12 per cent)[18]. In order to cover the large number of illiterates, the following programmes were recommended by the Government of India : (i) Non Formal education for non school going children in the age group 6-14; (ii) Non Formal education for youth in the 15-25 age group; and (iii) Functional literacy linked with development schemes.

The Government of India directed the States to initiate the programmes of non formal education "on a large scale" and set up separate cells in the Directorate of Education[19]. Unfortunately, the response from the Government of Bihar was "Lukewarm and slow"[20] and during 75-78, no major programme of non formal education was initiated by the State. However, the State Government co-operated with the NCERT in setting up experimental non-formal education centres in certain selected villages. The erstwhile Department of School Education (NCERT) set up an experimental non-formal education centre at Bariarpur in Bihar in 1977 with especially designed curriculum which revolved around traditional professions like carpet weaving and pottery in which the members of local community were already engaged. The centre was located at the village primary school and functioned during 3-5 p.m. with the help of a part-time teacher who was paid Rs. 100 per month. The main purpose of the non-formal education programme was not only to provide an education equivalent to the formal primary education within a period of 3 years, but also to enable the

children to acquire certain vocational skills through income generating activities like carpet weaving, tie and dye, candle making etc.[21] After two years, the non-formal education centre ceased to function when the centrally sponsored "Scheme of Experimental Projects on Non-Formal Education for children of 9-14 age-group for universalisation of Elementary Education" was developed by the Government of India and implemented in the nine educationally backward states of which Bihar was one. These backward states had about 75 per cent of the non-enrolled children in the country. While 87 per cent of children in the age group 6-11 were enrolled in India during 1976-77, only 65.56 per cent were found to be enrolled in Bihar[22]. Besides there has been an increasing trend of drop-outs among school children in Bihar. From 68.1 per cent during 1958-62, the drop-out rate increased to 83 per cent in 1973[23].

The main objective of the new scheme of non-formal education was to "help the educationally backward States in developing and implementing programmes of non-formal education so as to enable them to cover the huge size of non-enrolled and non-attending children"[24]. The NCERT developed the entire programme package and monitored the programme. Out of the 228 non-formal centres started in 1978, Bihar had 10 centres. They were located at Kanka Block. The teachers were paid an honorarium of Rs. 150 per month and the supervisor, Rs. 350/- per month. The programme at the State level was coordinated by the NCERT Field Advisor. During the three years (1979-82), the ten non-formal education centres in Bihar enrolled 367 children of whom 262 were declared successful[25]. Per capita expenditure in Bihar was Rs. 73.17 compared to Rs. 46.59 in Madhya Pradesh and Rs. 98.86 in Assam[26].

In recent years there has been a growing realization that one of the most promising approaches to the extension of opportunity for education to out of school children will

be through a non-formal education programme sustained and supported by the community. An attempt to develop such a community based non-formal education for different age group was initiated in 15 States in India in 1976. The project-"Developmental Activities in Community Education and Participation" (DACEP) was implemented by NCERT in collaboration with SCERT and through financial assistance from UNICEF. The DACEP approach is based on the premise that children's education to be relevant and meaningful has to proceed concurrently with gradual changes and modifications of their socio-economic environment. During the first phase (1976-80), two community centres were established in each state. In 1981, additional 2-3 centres were also started. The project aimed at developing and testing new types of educational activities as feasible means of meeting the minimum educational needs of pre-school and out of school children and women in the selected communities and at the same time increase the participation of the community in formal and non-formal education programmes[27]. Thus the programme overlaped with the ICDS and NFE programmes.

In Bihar, the DACEP Project was located at Lona and Latasare villages. The DACEP centre at the former village had 48 students (43 boys and 5 girls compared to 96 students in the later village (53 boys and 43 girls) in the age group of 6-14 who were either drop-outs or unenrolled[28]. Besides, the centres had 83 males and 31 females in the age group of 15-35 years[29]. The centres organised compensatory programme in literacy for illiterates, recreational activities based on local traditions, games, sports and productive work. There were "Yuva Mandals" (Youth Club) for men and "Mahila Mandals" (Ladies Club) for women on the pattern of Anganwadi organised under ICDS[30]. The review of the instructional material showed a bias in favour of titles relevant to women[31]. The DACEP programme in Bihar did not flourish due to the partial utilisation of the grant, non supply of materials and certain administrative

problem[33]. However, it was found that the programme succeeded in improving the cultural life of the villagers, their social cohession and self esteem[33].

National Adult Education Programme

The year 1978 which marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of Indian Adult Education saw the emergence of a number of adult education institutions in Bihar. Since a new Government under the Janata Party was in power both at the Centre as well as in Bihar at that time, the State Government was too keen to demonstrate its commitment to a programme developed by the central leadership. The pattern of expenditure on adult education brings out the official concern for and commitment to the programme. During the first two years of operation (1978-80) the NAEP in Bihar received highest percentage of budget both from the Central and the State plans : if the former incurred an expenditure of Rs. 53,64,00 (14 percent of the Central NAEP budget) the latter incurred Rs. 6,47,3000 (16 per cent of the State NAEP budget) on the promotion of adult education in Bihar[34]. The comparatively higher percentage of expenditure on NAEP in Bihar was due to the establishment of different State level administrative, planning and programme implementation machinaries as suggested by the NAEP[35].

The Government of Bihar created a separate Directorate of Adult Education in 1978 as the apex body responsible for the overall planning and implementation of NAEP in the State. Initially the core staff of the Directorate consisted of a full time Director, two Deputy and two Assistant Directors. Besides, there were District Adult Education Officers and Project Officers[36]. (see also chart).

The academic support to NAEP is provided by the Bihar State Resource Centre for Adult Education which is known as "Deepayatan" and established in September 1978 as a

voluntary agency. The main activities of the Centre revolve around curriculum development, preparation and publication of teaching-learning materials and allied literature, organization of training programme for the State level functionaries, evaluation and research. The basic literacy materials developed by the Centre consist of a Primer, a Workbook, a Workbook on numeracy, an Instructor's guide, a chart and two supplementary readers along with supporting materials. Besides the Centre also prepares audio-visual materials and a variety of post-literacy materials[37].

Shramik Vidyapeeth has been considered as a key institution in the field adult education. In Bihar there are two Vidyapeeths and both of them are in the voluntary sector. They are located at Ranchi and Jamshedpur and aim at enriching the professional and personal life of urban and industrial workers and their families through a series of programme of non-formal education, skill formation and skill upgradation.

The Government of Bihar did not deviate from the broad NAEP policy directives formulated by the Government of India and tried to implement the programme both in spirit and words. It was to a great extent due to the dynamic leadership and dedication of Shri Rama Shankar Tewari, the first Director of Adult Education (1978-80) in Bihar. While his defence background infused a sense of dedication to the national cause, his informal manners and friendly attitude towards adult education personnel secured their unstinted cooperation[38]. His excellent rapport with the then Education Minister in the State Shri Digambarnath Thakur further boosted up the prospects of NAEP in Bihar. Although Shri Tewari took up adult education as "a challenge", he was fortunate in having a very "receptive" Chief Minister and Education Minister and cooperative colleagues like Ranjor Prasad, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Board and S.C. Mukherjee, Development Commissioner who aided his

efforts[39]. In view of the congenial atmosphere, Shri Tewari felt free to "recruit extension minded people" directly and introduce certain innovative procedures which contributed to the success of NAEP[40].

The objective of the NAEP was to organise adult education programme (with literacy, functionality and awareness as the three components) for about 100 million illiterates in the age group of 15-35 during the period 1979-80 to 83-84. In Bihar NAEP had a target of 14 million illiterates[41]. The NAEP assumed that the objective would be realized through an adult basic education of 10 months followed by another ten month programme of post-literacy. Against the expected target of 1.5 and 4.5 million illiterates to be covered during the years 1978-79 and 79-80 in India, the actual enrolment was 6.75 and 21.71 lakh and this shows that even during the peak days of NAEP, the enrolment target eluded the adult educators. Either the enrolment drive was ineffective or the NAEP did not appeal to illiterates. However, in the case of Bihar there had been a ten-fold increase in enrolment during the first and the second year of the NAEP, compared to the threefold increase at all India level during the same period[42]. This trend indicates the relative success of NAEP in Bihar during the period 1978-80. The statistics for the subsequent years shows that Bihar not only attained the target but also exceeded it in certain years. Against the target of 5 lakh enrolment during 82-83, Bihar succeeded in enrolling 8.23 lakh illiterates[43]. During 1981-84, though Bihar covered the enrolment target of 16 lakh illiterates[44], it could succeed in making only 29.31 per cent literate[45] with an expenditure of Rs. 906 lakh[46].

The State Sector in Adult Education

The adult education programme in Bihar was impiemented through a variety of Projects/Schemes and agencies : (i) Rural Functional Literacy Project (ii) State Adult Education Programme (iii) Voluntary Agencies (iv) Nehru Yuvak

Kendras (v) Colleges/Universities. The Rural Functional Literacy Project (RFLP) is a centrally sponsored scheme developed by merging the functional literacy component of Farmer's Training and Functional Literacy Project and the Non Formal Education Programme for 15-25 age group[47]. Funds are provided on hundred per cent basis by the Government of India to the State to set up a maximum of 300 centres covering one or two continuous development blocks. Of 27,996 RFLP in India during 78-79, Bihar had 1490 (5.3 per cent). During the next year, percentage remaining the same, the number of RFLP in Bihar increased to 2061[48]. Though the number of RFLP came down to 676 during 80-81—mainly due to the change in Government and the subsequent shift in Government policy, it gradually increased to 4481 by the year 1984-85. While the enrolment under RFLP increased from 0.20 lakh illiterates in 80-81 to 1.31 lakh in 84-85 (sixfold), the expenditure shoot up from 22 lakhs to 226.61 lakh (tenfold) during the same period[49]. A study of the operation of RFLP in Morwah Block in Samastipur reflected the indifference or neglect on the part of field functionaries, group rivalries, and unhelpful attitude of well to do farmers who deprived the farm labourers the minimum wages. However, the study highlighted the commitment and enthusiasm of the Project Officer, Shri Kumar Anand and Lady supervisor, Smt. Shanti Singh[50].

The majority of the adult education centres in Bihar have been organized either under the Central or the State scheme. It has been observed that Bihar had more number of Adult Education Centres under the State Adult Education Programme (SAEP) than the RFLP. Compared to 1945 centres under the former there were only 1490 centres in the latter category during 1979; in the next year the number of RFLP and SAEP centres increased to 2061 and 2808, respectively[51]. In the subsequent years, adult education programme in the State sector quadruppled both in terms of

the number of centres as well as enrolment. To a great extent it could be due to the initiative and interest taken by the then Director of Adult Education, Shri Anil K. Sinha who subsequently became the Director of the DAE at the Centre. Shri Sinha not only adhered to the policy guidelines but also recruited right type of project staff and gave added impetus to tribal adult education[52]. Like his predecessor, Sinha also had cordial relations with the higher ups and colleagues and hence, he could succeed in the implementation of adult education programme during his tenure.

The expansion of the SAEP and RFLP in Bihar cost a sum of Rs. 1313 lakhs and Rs. 549.19 lakhs respectively during the 5th plan. The annual break up of the budget brings out the comparative utilisation of the funds vis-a-vis the achievement. For example during the year 1984-85, if the SAEP spent 56 per cent of the budget (Rs. 350 lakhs) to organise 72 per cent of the centres (11889) and enrol 72 per cent of the learners (3.49 lakhs), the RFLP incurred 36 per cent of the budget (Rs. 226.61 lakhs) to set up 26 per cent of the centres (4481) and enrol 27 per cent (1.31 lakhs) learners[53].

The Voluntary Sector

The participation of voluntary sector in adult education has been tremendous in Bihar during the last decade, 1978-88. To begin with the voluntary agencies (volags) in Bihar responded in a limited manner to the Government of India's policy of increased assistance to them. During 1977-78 the voluntary sector in Bihar received a grant of Rs. 3000 (0.06 per cent) out of the total of Rs. 4,63,900, disbursed by the Government of India under the "Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Agencies working in the field of Adult Education". But in the next year, the Central assistance to volags in Bihar increased ten times and even then the share of Bihar was only 0.19 per cent of the total grant[54]. At the end of

the first year of the NAEP there were 71 voluntary agencies in Bihar[55] which received a grant of 9.3 per cent (Rs. 44.21 lakh) and they set up 10 per cent (2750) of centres organised by all the volags in India[56]. The statistics on the volags shows that the number of agencies applying for the grants has been fluctuating over the years and it was found that there were only six agencies in Bihar who got continued assistance during the first two years of NAEP[57].

The liberal attitude of the Government of India towards volags did undergo a change in 1980 when the Janata Government lost power to the Congress and the latter began to review the programmes formulated by the former due to the ideological differences. Hence the scheme of assistance to volgas remained in abeyance till April 1982. Even though the Review Committee appointed by the Government of India recommended the "continued assistance and encouragement to voluntary agencies"[58], the Government of India was cautious and limited its assistance only to the "properly screened" volgas. Hence, only 12 volgas in Bihar received a grant of Rs. 16.33 lakhs during 1983-84[59]. Subsequently, during the Seventh Plan period there was a shift in the Government policy towards volags. The National Literacy Mission recommended increasing association of volgas with adult education programme[60] and the Government of India began to view the volgas as "partners in literacy action" and adopted a policy of liberalising the Central assistance to volags[61] Today, as many as 76 volags in Bihar are in receipt of Central assistance.[62]

Not all the volags in Bihar have succeeded in effectively implementing the adult education programme. Most of them have taken up adult education programme as a part of their social welfare programme. The second Appraisal of the NAEP in Bihar which evaluated 35 volgas found that they were involved with a variety of developmental pro-

grammes connected with agriculture, irrigation, Industrial development, health education and literacy. Some of the volags were extremely enterprising in organising innovative programmes while the majority of the volgas concentrated on the literacy component. Certain volags, viz., Samagra Vikas Lok Samiti (Katihar) Institute of Labour Studies (Jamshedpur), Nayi Shisha Kalyan Parishad (Darbanga) emphasised the functional aspect also[63]. Some of the agencies, viz., K.R. Educational Association (Bettiah) and Insan School (Kishanganj) have followed total developmental approach[64] The study noted that the volags were confronted with a number of problems which affected the implementation of the programme. While 51 per cent of volags were reported to have had operational problems, 33 per cent had financial problems and 16 per cent were affected by different types of administrative problems[65]. It has been observed that the spirit of voluntarism has not developed in Bihar as in Gujarat and the tradition of voluntary service was almost confined to Gandhian institutions. Even after five decades of adult education in Bihar, a state adult education Association is yet to be set up.

One of the striking feature of voluntary efforts in adult education in Bihar has been the role of Christian Missionaries. The Presbyterian Church, the American Bible Society and Baptist Churches have been very active in tribal areas of Bihar. Since these agencies organise literacy programme as a part of the Community Development Programme and do not receive grants from Indian sources, their programmes remain unpublished. Under the leadership of Father Gonsalves considerable efforts were made by the K.R. Association to motivate and mobilise the tribals of Champaran District, (especially at Bettiah) to participate in adult education programme during 78-79. By making use of the vacabulary of tribals, a song book was prepared and it served as an effective tool in the implementation of adult education programme.

Nehru Yuvak Kendras

One of the strategies of involving non-student youth in the adult education programme has been through Nehru Yuvak Kendras. During the first year of the NAEP, Nehru Yuvak Kendras in Bihar had organised 399 centres (5.59 per cent) out of the total of 7129 centres in India. During the next year' number of centres organized by the NYKs of Bihar declined to 271, though percentagewise there was an increase (5.8 per cent)[66]. Mainly two reasons have been cited for the decrease in the number of centres : the delay in the release of grants to the NYK's and the low remuneration of the instructor[67].

Adult Education through the Universities in Bihar

The importance of involving the students of the colleges and Universities was highlighted during the 1970's by UGC and Ministry of Education. While the *Policy Frame of the UGC (1978)* underlined the need for extension as the third dimension of higher education[68], the NAEP provided a scheme to the Universities to participate in adult education[69]. Though the Universities and Colleges responded "well" to the NAEP, it was rather limited[70]. Under the NAEP, only 70 colleges of the eight universities in Bihar participated and they organized 810 centres which constituted 10 per cent of the centres organized by all the Universities in India[70] (see Table No. 13).

An elaborate scheme for the involvement of colleges and university students in the Adult Education programme was developed by the University Grants Commission in 1980 in pursuance of Point No. 16 of the New 20 Point Programme of the Government of India. According to this scheme, the universities were "considered specially suited, structured and staffed to provide the needed professional and technical guidance required for the implementation of the programme" and they were required to participate in the

adult education programmes through their student body, teachers and the Departments/Centres of Adult Education. The UGC provided the programme package and hundred per cent assistance to all the universities to implement the programme till 31 March 1990[72]. In response to the new guidelines of the UGC, as many as 252 colleges affiliated to the eight universities in Bihar (which had participated in the NAEP) took up the programmes in the area of adult, and population education. None of the Universities opted for continuing education while only one college took up Planning Forum[73]. The participation of Bihar colleges in adult education was one of the highest in India (22.5 per cent). But in terms of their effectiveness in organizing the adult education centres, Bihar lagged behind other states. During 1984-35, when the universities/colleges in India taken as a whole succeeded in setting up nearly 80 per cent of the sanctioned centres, the Bihar universities/colleges could organize only 44 per cent of the sanctioned centres[74]. The performance of the university system in Bihar with respect to the enrolment of Scheduled Caste and Tribes and women has been encouraging. The percentage of enrolment of women to total enrolment in Bihar was 24.99 per cent, compared to the all India percentage of 32.19[75].

The progress of the University Adult Education in Bihar was rather slow due to a variey of problems. A case study of Bihar university revealed that the university authorities were not at all "serious" towards the programme and did not give due weightage which lowered the "status" of the programme[76]. The attendance in the adult education centres was found to vary between 8-18 and the thrust of the programme was on literacy[77]. The achievement was found to be "far from satisfactory"[78] One of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the programme in some of the universities in Bihar could be due to failure to organize regular training programme. The Controller and Auditor General's Report observed that L.N. Mithila University was one of the three

universities in India which had not incurred any expenditure on training during the year 84-85[89].

There were two clear stages in the growth of adult education in Bihar during the last two decades. In the first stage (1968-77) no significant development had taken place in the field of adult education in the State. During the second stage which commenced in 1978, certain basic changes in the concept, structure and functioning of adult education were introduced in Bihar as in other parts of India. Unlike many other States, Bihar had no existing infrastructure and the adult education structures had to be built anew. A systematic effort was made to study the operation of adult education programme in the State. Apart from encouraging the voluntary agencies and students to participate in adult education programme, the State of Bihar also strengthened the adult education machinery, the total number of staff at the Directorate increased five fold during the last decade and on an average a Director functioned for a period of two years. Of the five Directors, the first two seems to have played a crucial role in laying a strong foundation of the present day adult education programme in the State.

CHAPTER V

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECTS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN BIHAR

The growth and development of adult education in Bihar during the last five decades, reveal certain patterns and problems and raises a number of issues. What should be the role of the State vis-a-vis the Centre in adult education programme ? Should the State of Bihar merely confine itself to the implementation of the adult education programmes developed by the Central Government or develop its own innovative programmes of adult education ? Should the State Government raise local resources for adult education or depend only on Central assistance ? Should the progress of adult education in Bihar depend on the official initiatives and programmes ? What should be the role of non-officials and professionals in the promotion of adult education in Bihar ? Why did a professional organization of adult education not develop in Bihar ?

The history of adult education in Bihar during the last fifty years shows that the policy and programme of adult education has been influenced by a number of factors and forces. In view of the federal character of Indian Constitution, the Government of India has been playing a significant role in the development of adult education at the State level, while leaving the main responsibility of implementation on the States. Apart from providing hundred per cent grant to the States for the implementation of centrally sponsored adult education programmes like RFLP, the Government of India

meets the entire expenditure incurred towards the management of State Directorate of Adult Education. Besides it provides 80 per cent grant to the State Resource Centre and gives hundred per cent assistance to Voluntary Agencies for organizing adult education programme. Since the State Government is bound to implement the programme in accordance with the academic guidelines and administrative and financial norms of the Government of India, the freedom of the State to introduce any innovation remains curtailed and the State continues to develop an attitude of dependence on the Centre and tends to view adult education as a programme of the Government of India. It is often argued that since the resources are limited with the State Government there is a need for Central assistance to a crucial programme like adult education which otherwise would remain neglected. During the last five decades it has been observed that the progress of adult education in Bihar has been directly linked to the financial allocations made by the Government of India, though at times, the State government could not utilise the entire amount. At no point of time did the State Government develop any innovative scheme of adult education and sought financial assistance from the Centre or tried to raise resources of its own. It was the same with voluntary agencies. The State of Bihar remained content with its dependent role and did not hesitate to suspend the programme when faced with financial crisis.

It has been observed that adult education in Bihar made tremendous strides whenever the key personnel like the Education Minister or Director of Adult Education have identified with the programme and taken personal interest in the implementation of the programme. During the last five decades there were only two occasions when the key personnel took special interest in adult education programme. If during 1937-39, the then Education Minister of Bihar, late Dr. Syed Mahmud got actively involved with the Mass

Literacy Campaign, and provided dynamic leadership; during 1978-82, the first two Directors of the State Directorate of Adult Education, viz., Shri R.S. Tewari and Anil K. Sinha, left no stone unturned in the implementation of NAEP which consequently enabled Bihar to win the Unesco award[1]. This raises a crucial question : Should the progress of adult education be left to individual commitments or should the committed individuals try to develop a second level leadership to carry on the programme in their absence. This in turn raises another related question : Should the prospects of adult education programme be left to individuals ? Is there a need to build up institutions or mass movements to carry on the programmes when the key individuals disappear from the scene ? The history of adult education in Bihar during the four decades (1938-78) shows that one of the reasons for its ineffectiveness was due to the absence of appropriate institutions and movements. While official support may aid the process of building up institutions and mass organizations, their growth to a great extent depends on the active interest and involvement of non-officials and professionals in the field. On the one hand there is a dearth of non-official and professional adult educators in Bihar and on the other hand a large number of people in the voluntary sector have only marginal interest in adult education[2]. As no professional adult educators in Bihar have come together to form an organization and take on the responsibility, perhaps the Indian Adult Education Association may explore the possibilities of bringing together a group of professional adult educators in Bihar.

Apart from the two spells of golden period in the history of adult education in Bihar, the remaining years witnessed only the routine operation of different types of adult education programme. Since the continuous operation of Mass Literacy Programme in Bihar during the decade 1937-47 had created a group of well oriented and committed officials, and a receptive atmosphere, the social education

programme of the 1950's could effectively take off in Bihar. However, in the absence of a dynamic leader committed to the cause of adult education in Bihar during the 1950's and 60's and with the retirement of the well oriented adult education officials, the progress of Social Education in Bihar began to slow down. The State failed to utilise nearly 73 per cent of the budget allotted to Social Education during the Second Plan and with the outbreak of Indo China War in 1962 and Indo-Pak War in 1965 and the subsequent economic crisis, the newly created adult education institutions like the Janata College and the Administrative Unit of Adult Education were dismantled and hence, when the centrally sponsored Farmers Functional Literacy Programme was introduced in Bihar in late 60's, it failed miserably. The State had neither the expertise nor the committed leadership to implement the programme in spite of hundred per cent grant from the Centre. This implies that adult education programme cannot be implemented with money alone; it needs the committed leadership and experienced personnel.

There are several pockets in Bihar which experience social tensions due to Naxalite activities and disputes between landlords and tenants. What has been the impact of these on adult education programme ? Some of the officials observe that the naxalite leaders have never hindered the adult education programme[3] and on the contrary have been lending support to the instructors to run the programme regularly since it provides them a platform to propagate their ideology and also helps them to mobilise the masses and organise them for collective action[4]. Some of the activists connected with the Kissan Sabha allege of the discouraging attitude of landlords in allowing their tenants attend adult education programmes for fear of the demand of Minimum Wages being raised by the tenants. In a State like Bihar which has a large number of people below the poverty level and which is predominantly rural and agricultural based

society the problem of literacy is linked to the broader issue of poverty and development.

The post 1978 developments in the field of adult education in Bihar promise a brighter future since a number of adult education institutions have already been established and liberal financial allocations have been made. With the establishment of the State Resource Centre and the Directorate of Adult Education in Patna, the State has created permanent machinaries for policy planning, orientation of adult education personnel, production of relevant literature and audio-visual materials. Although during 78-82, special emphasis was laid on adult education programme for the Tribals and some innovative procedures were followed for the recruitment of project officers and supervisors, in subsequent years there was a laxity on the part of leadership[5] and a number of people from the Education Department were taken on deputation to work as project officers and supervisors. Many of them had no commitment to adult education, and nearly 8 per cent were found to be involved with malpractices and corruption during 1986-87 which affected the progress of adult education to a great extent[6]. Often the attempt of the concerned Director to revert the "unfit" project staff to their parent department and thus streamline the operation of adult education programme, has been frustrated by the politicians who patronise the project staff with ulterior political motives. When a dedicated Director pursued the case against the corrupt project staff relentlessly, the Director was transferred[7]. The fact that Bihar has such committed and upright bureacrats who sometimes happen to occupy the key post of Director shows that there is still hope for the successful operation of adult education in Bihar, and whenever the right person occupies the right place, adult education in Bihar would flourish as it has already built up the required infrastructure.

The progress of adult education in Bihar seems to be

affected by the changing concept of adult education and the character of the programme. During the last five decades, the concept of adult education has changed from mere emphasis on literacy in 1930's and 40's to civic literacy in the next two decades and then to functional literacy in 70's. Since 1978, there has been an equal emphasis on literacy, functionality, numeracy and social awareness. Although there were four major programmes of adult education in operation in Bihar during the last fifty years viz., (i) Mass Literacy Campaign, (ii) Social Education, (iii) Farmer's Functional Literacy Programme and (iv) National Adult Education Programme, none of them were pursued steadily and with the same intensity. Most of the programmes had glorious beginning and ignominous end. With the exception of Mass Literacy Campaign all the other programmes in Bihar suffered due to a variety of administrative problems, economic crisis and lack of State level leadership and expertise. Of all programmes of adult education in Bihar the most successful has been the Mass Literacy Campaign. It's astounding success had attracted all India attention and Bihar emerged as a pioneer in the field of adult education in British India. It had made 6 lakh people literate and established nearly 2000 libraries within a year. Since then, Bihar could never regain its top position in the field of adult education. During the era of social education (1948-67), Bihar did try to develop innovative programme of mass literacy through the "student squads" and "Sapta Sutri Yojana" (seven point programme), but failed to implement them continuously over a long period due to administrative problems. The subsequent programmes of Farmers Functional Literacy and Non Formal Education took a long time to strike their roots mainly because of the lack of State level expertise. The launching of the NAEP in 1978 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of adult education in Bihar and since then the adult education has been gradually developing. Today Directorate of Adult Education

has more than 25 members on it's staff and 38 adult education projects (of 300 centres each) under RFLP and 106 projects (100-300 centres each) under SAEP are in operation.

With all the infrastructure and resources, is it possible to achieve the target of hundred per cent literacy in Bihar in the near future ? Perhaps, not. According to an estimate it is observed that, Bihar may need 9.4 decades to attain a literacy rate of 85 per cent for all and 14.6 decades for female[8]. Hence it is all the more necessary to continue the ongoing programmes of adult education steadily and sincerely and at the same time, vigorously pursue the programme of universalisation of elementary education through formal and non-formal means.

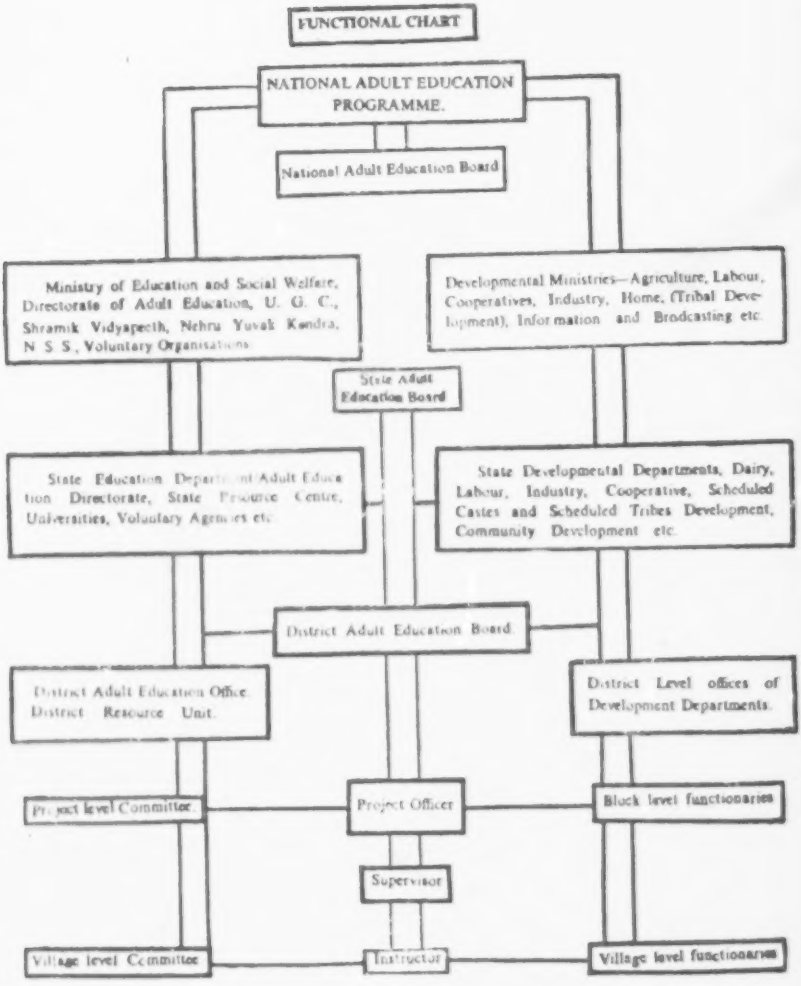
FUNCTIONAL CHART
NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME.
National Adult Education Board
Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Directorate of Adult Education, U. G. C., Shramik Vidyapeeth, Nehru Yuvak Kendra, N. S. S., Voluntary Organisations
Developmental Ministries—Agriculture, Labour, Cooperatives, Industry, Home, (Tribal Development), Information and Brodcasting etc.
State Adult Education Board
State Education Department/Adult Education Directorate, State Resource Centre, Universities, Voluntary Agencies etc.
State Developmental Departments, Dairy, Labour, Industry, Cooperative, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development, Community Development etc.
District Adult Education Board
District Adult Education Office. District Resource Unit.
District Level offices of Development Departments.
Project level Committee
Project Officer
Block level functionaries
Supervisor
Village level Committee
Instructor
Village level functionaries

Table No. 1

Literacy Situation in India and Bihar (1961-81) (in millions)

Year	Total Population		Total Literate		Total Illiterate		Percentage of Literate	
	India	Bihar	India	Bihar	India	Bihar	India	Bihar
1961	428.39	46.45	102.60	8.54	325.79	37.91	24.02	18.40
1971	533.53	56.35	157.29	11.23	376.24	45.12	29.45	19.94
1981	665.28	69.91	241.03	18.32	424.25	51.59	36.23	26.20

Source : O.P. Sharma & Robert D. Retherford, *Recent Literacy Trends in India.* New Delhi : Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 1987, pp. 17, 57-59.

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Table No. 2

Literacy rates by residence and sex and sex ratio among total population, literates and illiterates for India and Bihar

1961-81

India/State/ Union territory	Census Year	Strata	Literacy rate			Females per 1,000 males		
			Persons	Male	Female	Population	Literates	Illiterates
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
India*	1961	Total	23.95	34.37	12.90	943	354	1,251
		Rural	18.83	28.89	8.42	966	281	1,244
		Urban	46.87	57.43	34.41	847	507	1,305
	1971	Total	29.48	39.52	18.70	931	440	1,251
		Rural	23.69	33.76	13.08	950	368	1,246
		Urban	52.37	61.24	42.05	859	590	1,285
	1981	Total	36.23	46.89	24.82	934	494	1,323
		Rural	29.65	40.79	17.96	952	419	1,319

		Urban	57.40	65.83	47.82	880	639	1,344
Bihar	1961	Total	18.40	29.83	6.90	994	230	1,318
		Rural	16.12	27.20	5.17	1,012	192	1.319
		Urban	43.19	55.54	27.96	811	408	1,314
	1971	Total	19.94	30.64	8.72	954	271	1,255
		Rural	17.17	27.64	6.39	971	224	1.257
		Urban	44.92	55.43	31.89	807	464	1,233
	1981	Total	26.20	38.11	13.62	946	338	1,320
		Rural	22.50	34.38	10.17	963	285	1,319
		Urban	52.18	62.47	39.81	832	530	1,334

Source : *O.P. Sharma and Robert D. Retherford, Recent Literacy Trends in India.* New Delh · Office of Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India 1987(pp. 78-79).

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Table No. 3

Ranks of Districts in Bihar

District	Literacy 1961	Female Literacy 1961	Agricultural Productivity 1970s	Couple Protection Rate 1964	Population Growth Rate 1971-81	Population Growth Rate 1961-71	Percent point change in Growth Rate between 1961-71 and 1971-81	Sex Ratio 1961	Share of Urban Population 1961
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BIHAR									
Patna	122	142	50	192	47	241	15	134	38
Nalanda	183	208	50	193	170	241	91	109	218
Nawada	261	279	103	202	240	213	167	38	328
Gaya	214	240	103	207	231	213	160	73	257
Aurangabad	235	261	103	218	264	213	192	80	321
Rohtas	208	237	63	225	264	208	197	122	270

Bhojpur	198	113	63	215	300	208	241	244	259
Saran	249	295	57	189	274	261	148	26	297
Siwan	297	313	57	198	266	259	140	9	354
Gopalganj	333	362	57	211	238	259	115	35	347
Pashchim Champaran	363	349	61	212	210	292	77	120	312
Purbi Champaran	358	357	61	199	205	292	71	109	351
Sitamarhi	351	339	133	198	261	297	102	150	353
Muzaffarpur	291	271	133	180	229	297	85	70	299
Vaishali	279	285	133	199	219	297	73	42	330
Begusarai	268	256	147	205	97	232	80	139	263
Samastipur	287	283	125	187	232	271	103	60	356
Darbhanga	292	282	125	183	223	271	97	55	284
Madhubani	326	333	125	189	242	271	106	53	359
Saharsa	344	348	147	139	166	172	159	103	339
Purnia	359	345	159	145	119	126	176	109	300
Katihar	335	308	159	163	159	126	235	105	274

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Munger	257	255	147	207	296	232	193	110	212
Bhagalpur	248	236	80	184	185	219	121	119	245
Santhal Pargana	318	319	146	164	337	268	244	77	324
Dhanbad	127	158	174	143	72	184	7	180	13
Giridih	294	325	174	156	159	137	209	59	208
Hazaribag	302	310	174	172	56	137	73	74	196
Palamau	342	348	198	223	131	149	162	77	340
Ranchi	196	190	185	113	329	223	278	69	133
Singhbhum	167	182	160	125	327	286	223	91	56

Source : Sheel Chand Nuna, *Education and Development*, New Delhi : NIEPA, 1987.

Table No. 4

Progress of Literacy work during May-October, 1938

Period	No. of Centres	No. under instruction
May 1938	6,477	1,00,328
June ,,	10,216	1,57,296
July ,,	7,057	1,11,741
August ,,	5,990	98,036
September ,,	6,821	1,21,695
Total	36,561	5,89,096

Source : *ARPMLC*, 1939 p. 41.

Table No. 5

Position of Adult Learners and Literacy Volunteers

Area	No. of Centres	Hindustan+ Harijans	Muslims	Others, including Christians & Aboriginals	Total	Made Literate	Teacher volunteers	Non-teacher Volunteers
Non-Intensive area	8479	105656+ 14106	16244	29423	165429	78292	8521	1498
Intensive area	5780	87092+ 12951	11138	48127	153308	69378	2074	3833
Total	14,259	1,92,758+27,057	27,342	71550	318737	147670	10595	5331

(*Source* : ARPMLC, 1939, p. 15)

Table No. 6

First Intensive Campaign

(Figures up to 30th June 1939)

District	Thana	Educable** adults	No. of Centres	No. under Instruction	No. made+ Literate
1	2	3	4	5	6
Patna	Maner	8180	272	7,720	6335
Shahabad	Nawanager	9200	402	9,088	8708
Gaya	Hasua	13,350	252	12,157	11,082
Muzaffarpur	Lalganj	13,800	492	13,082	9,796
Darbhanga	Jalley	14,000	270	8,437	6,113
Saran	Ekma	8,550	204	6,109	5,048
Champaran	Pipra	8,815	265	8,405	6,494
Bhagalpur	Sultanganj	10,800	244	9,943	9,420
Monghyr	Kharagapore	12,500	229	10,372	8,425
S.P.	Mahagama	16,800	372	16,598	16,467

1	2	3	4	5	6
Purnea	Kasba	8,700	243	8,472	7,477
Hazaribagh	Dhanwar	8,100	233	7,861	7,110
Manbhum	Govindpore	6,060	239	5,395	4,428
Singhbum	Bahargera	11,430	317	11,212	6,376
Palamau	Lesliganj	4,600	168	4,579	2,861
Ranchi	Simdega Sub-division	42,300	1,483	36,105	18,475
Bhagalpore	Banka Sub-division	66,100	750	61,937	42,698
Total		2,64,285	6,435	2,37,472	1,77,313

*Examinations in the Intensive Areas are going on hence the figures of Literates are not complete.

**About 10 per cent of the total number of educable Illiterates were not available for instructions due to seasonal migration and other causes.

(Source : *ARPMLC 1939* p. 43)

Table No. 7

Income and Expenditure of the Mass Literacy Campaign (1938-39)

(Excluding Headquarter Expenditure)

Receipt	First phase	Second phase	Total 1st & Second phase	Expenditure	First phase	Second phase	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government	430	62,938	63,368	Honorarium to workers	Nil	44,634	44,634
Local Bodies	2134	2,698	4,872	Purchase of lanterns	3,351	10,372	13,723
Public	7525	30,513	38,035	Purchase of slates	2,268	10,362	12,630
	10,129	96,149	1,06,275	Cost of oil	2,419	14,865	17,184
				Contingencies	1,378	11,221	12,599
				Total	9,416	91,454	1,00,870

(Source : *ARPMLC, 1939* p. 36)

Table No. 8

Progress of Literacy Work during 1939-40

Pre-literacy		Total No. of educable illiterates	Total No. enrolled in Dec-March quarter	Total No. passed in Dec-March quarter	Balance to be enrolled	Centres on 31st March, 1940	Workers		
Districts	Name of Thanas						No. of Teachers	Non-teachers	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Saran	Revelganj	5,186	2,814	1,969	2,372	101	38	65	103
Champaran	Ghorasahan	13,650	6,599	4,474	7,051	186	42	155	197
Darbhanga	Tajpore	10,813	4,086	2,971	6,727	119	57	62	119
Muzaffarpur	Sursand	10,112	9,442	4,491	670	251	74	195	269
Patna	PAC, Digha and Khagole	5,873	3,636	2,383	2,237	55	33	28	61
Shahabad	Brahampur and Durgawati	18,824	7,941	5,802	10,883	336	89	255	344
Gaya	Belaganj	7,449	3,855	3,639	3,594	115	53	62	115

Bhagalpur	Nathnagar	5,948	5,948	5,532	0,000	105	28	77	105
Purnea	Forbesganj	16,671	12,124	8,878	4,547	370	118	252	370
Monghyr	Gogri	14,742	5,915	5,313	8,827	176	49	127	176
Santal Parganas	Jamtara	21,203	19,124	16,542	2,079	546	75	431	506
Ranchi	Kuru	5,695	5,186	3,220	0,509	228	35	193	228
Manbhum	Topchanchi	5,715	4,050	2,918	1,665	207	22	184	206
Singhbhum	Chakra-dharpur	15,185	15,084	9,078	0,101	399	102	324	416
Hazaribagh	Ramgarh	18,817	12,565	7,446	6,252	397	39	364	403
Palamau	Hariharganj	3,517	2,844	2,477	6,673	59	15	44	59
TOTAL		1,79,400	1,21,213	87,133	58,187	3,550	869	2,818	3,687

Source : *ARPMLC, 1940* p. 13.

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Table No. 9

Type of Literacy Workers

As on	Number of Literacy workers		
	Teachers	Non-teachers	Total
31-3-1939	10595	5331	15626
30-6-1939	8299	6951	15250
31-3-1940	5267	15300	20567
31-3-1941	6569	16811	23480

Source : Calculated from the following :

(i) *ARPMLC, 1940*, p. 6 ;

(ii) *ARPMLC, 1939*, p. 15 ;

(iii) *ARPMLC, 1941*, p. 28.

Table No. 10

Occupational Background of Volunteers

Thana	District	Student	Cultivator	Shopkeeper	Service	Artisan	Millhand	Teacher	Priest	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Baruraj	Mazaffarpur	9	170	1	2	—	—	58	—	240
Majhowlia	Champaran	15	149	3	1	3	—	30	—	201
Kishanganj	Purnea	3	107	4	8	4	—	25	—	151
Chauparen	Hazaribagh	4	90	8	8	8	—	22	10	150
Dehri	Shababad	49	93	7	8	4	4	45	6	216
Para	Manbhum	16	50	15	1	4	1	59	3	149
Total		96	650	38	28	23	5	239	19	1107

Source : *ARPMLC, 1940*, p. 28.

Table No. 11

Adult Education in British India 1939-40

Province	Schools and classes	Library	Reading rooms	Enrolment	Number rendered literate	Grants-in-aid	Voluntary contributions	—
						Rs.		
Madras	251	—	—	11,926	—	—	—	Adult education work left to private agencies in view of limited finances.
Bombay	2,336	—	—	56,000	13,200	86,560	—	50% of the classes disappeared due to reduction in grant and only 25% rendered literate at the end of 1939-40.
Bengal	10,000	—	—	1,50,000	—	—	—	
United Province	915	768	3,600	—	2,79,604	Rs. 36 to Rs. 96 per private	—	2,09,736 Hindi and Urdu books supplied to the library.

						library opened in rural areas.		7,200 weeklies to reading rooms per week. 4,150 Magazines to reading rooms per month.
Punjab	3,897	—	—	1,06,473	50,779	22,800	—	Education Department supplied free of cost primers and follow-up literature to the classes.
Bihar	18,878	4,000	—	11,68,325	4,13,482	1,80,510	19,490	2,000 weekly news papers in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali were supplied to the libraries, also news-sheets.
Central Province and Berar	5	44	—	—	—	—	—	
Assam	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
North-West Frontier Province	243	—	—	3,501	3,000	6,000	—	No village libraries.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sind	1,709	2	—	60,159	29,995	20,000	1,61,193	Books, charts and slates, etc. were supplied to the various centres. In some districts moving libraries have been opened to make the work permanent.
Orissa	907	—	—	21,737	19,870	—	—	No funds for establishing travelling and circulating libraries, proposal to publish and supply fortnightly news bulletin.
Ajmer-Marwara	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Coorg	1	—	—	32	—	—	—	Run by the Better Living Society and managed by one teacher.

Source : *Proceeding of the Sixth Meeting of the CABE in India*, Madras 11-12 January, 1941. Delhi, Manager Publications, 1941. p. 36.

Table No. 12

Progress of Literacy Campaign (1940-44)

	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44
Literacy centres				
Pre Literacy	11824	13534	N.A.	N.A.
Post Literacy	5470	7083	N.A.	N.A.
Total	17294	20617	N.A.	N.A.
Enrolment				
Male	445057	358478	306279	N.A.
Female	11625	10657	10472	13832
Total	456682	369135	316751	N.A.
Passed				
Male	213851 (48%)	283044 (81%)	214709 (70%)	213280
Female	7542 (64.87%)	8149 (76%)	7908 (75%)	9337 (67%)

Total	4000	2000	1000	750
Expenditure (Rs.)	2,08,504	2,03,764	1,74,130	2,00,695

Source : Calculated from the statistics given in the following CABE proceedings :

(i) *Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of CABE in India held at Hyderabad on 14th and 15th January, 1942.* Delhi : Manager, Publication, 1942, pp. 37-38.

(ii) *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of CABE held at Lucknow on 14th and 15th January, 1943.* Delhi : Manager, Publication, 1943, pp. 27-28.

(iii) *Proceedings of the Ninth and Tenth Meeting of CABE, October 1943 and January, 1944.* Delhi : Manager, Government of India Press, 1944, p. 43.

(iv) *Proceedings of the Eleventh Meeting of the CABE in India held at Karachi 16, 17 & 18 January, 1945.* Delhi : Manager, Government of India Press, 1945, p. 19.

Table No. 13
Number of Universities and Adult Education Centres in Bihar

S. No.	Name of the University	No. of Colleges	No. of Centres
1.	Bhagalpur	16	170
2.	Bihar	15	150
3.	Patna	6	80
4.	K. S. Darbanga Sanskrit	—	50
5.	Ranchi	12	140
6.	Magadh	12	120
7.	Mithila	9	90
8.	Indian School of Mines	—	10
	Total	70	810

Source : *Report of the UGC Working Group, on Point No. 16 of the Government of India*, New Delhi : UGC 1983, pp. 58-59.

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3. O.P. Sharma and Robert D. Retherford, *Recent Literacy Trends in India*, New Delhi : Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 1987, p. 17.
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5. *Ibid.*
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9. See O.P. Sharma and Robert D. Retherford, *op. cit.* p. 42.
10. *Census of India 1981*, p. xxv.

11. Mathur R.S. et. al., *Literacy Digest*, New Delhi : Directorate of Adult Education, 1988, (See Table No. 15).

12. *Ibid.*

13. O.P. Sharma and Retherford, *op. cit.* p. 42.

14. *State Profiles of Literacy and Adult Education Programme*, New Delhi : Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 11.

15. *Census of India, 1981, Series, 4 Bihar, Part-II-B. Primary Census Abstract*, New Delhi : Controller of Publication, 1985, pp. 12-13 *(Henceforth Census of Bihar, 1981)*.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Among Christian Missionaries the following took active part in literacy programme.

    (i) The Santal Christian Council

    (ii) The Bihar Christian Council

    (iii) The Romen Catholic Mission.

18. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1932-37)*. Calcutta : Government of India, 1940, p. 141.

19. *Census of Bihar, 1981*, pp. 12-13.

20. *Indian Educational Policy : Being a Resolution Issued by the Governor General in Council on 11 May 1904.* Calcutta : Superintendent, Government Printing, 1904, p. 11.

21. T.N. Siqueira, *Modern Indian Education*. Calcutta : Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 159.

22. Rai Bahadur Bhagwati Sahay, *History of Education in Bihar under British Rule*, Bhagalpur : The United Press, 1928, p. 225.

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

26. *Auxilliary Committee Report*, p. 385.

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32. Sohan Singh, *History of Adult Education during British period*, Delhi : Indian Adult Education Association, 1957, p. 41.

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34. Interview with Retired Professor C.S.P. Sinha, SCERT (Bihar) held on 2nd August 1988 at Patna.

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36. *Ibid.*, p. ii.

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38. Government of Bihar, Planning Department, *Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90*, Patna : Secretariat Press, 1988, Vol. I, p. i.

39. *Ibid.*, p. ii.

40. *Census of India 1981 Primary Census Abstract*, p. xx, p. xxxv.

41. Government of Bihar, *First Five Year Plan in Bihar 1951-56*. Patna : Superintendent, Secretariat Press, 1956, p. 2.

42. *Urban Growth in India 1951-81*, New Delhi : Registrar General, 1986, p. 38.

43. Government of India, Ministry of Education. *A Handbook of Education and Allied Statistics*, New Delhi : Government of India Press, 1987, pp. 270-72.

Chapter—II

1. In this study, the word 'campaign' has been interchangeably used with 'Movement', 'Programme' etc. although there is a difference between the campaign and programme. While both are "organized large scale series of activities intensely focussed on a set objectives to be achieved within some pre-determined period of time", the campaign has a sense of urgency, combativeness and political backing. The programme is "development action without political passion, urgent, but without dash and a certain impatience". For details see, H.S. Bhola and Joginder K. Bhola, *Planning and Organization of Literacy Campaigns, Programmes*

and Projects. Bonn : The German Foundation For International Development, 1984, p. 27.

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3. K.K. Datta, *op. cit'*, p. 459.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 10. See also p. 260, p. 307. For details of the Constructive Programme of Gandhi. See M.K. Gandhi, *The Problem of Education*, Ahmedabad : Navajivan Publishing House, 1962, pp. 185-86.
5. "Harijan", 5-6-1937, in *the Collected Works of Mahatama Gandhi*, New Delhi : The Publication Division, 1976 : Vol. 65, p. 234.
6. "Harijan", 16-10-1937 in *Ibid.*, Vol. 66, p. 245.
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8. Gandhi visited Bihar so often that, the province came to be known as "Gandhi Province", especially after the success of the Champaran Campaign. See R.R. Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 658.
9. S.M. Wasi *Bihar in 1938-39*, Patna : Superintendant, Government Printing, 1942, pp. 6, 10-11.
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13. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 54.

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16. See, Zaidi and Zaidi (Ed). *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress 1938-39*, New Delhi : S. Chand & Co., 1980, Vol. 11, p. 431, p. 529.

17. See Dr. Mahmud's appeal, "Student, Remember your brothers in village—spend your vacation in Educating them" in *The Searchlight*, March 12, 1938.

18. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1938.

19. See *ARPMLC*, 1939, p. 3.

20. See Editorial, *The Searchlight*, March 13, 1938 and March 29, 1938.

21. For example, See *The Bihar Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. III. No. 4, 1938. Proceedings of March 24, 1938, pp. 172-198 & March 26, 1938, p. 239, Vol. IV 1939 March 17, 1939, pp. 2638-40; March 31, 1939, p. 212.

22. *ARPMLC*, 1939, p. 2.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, See also *Report on the Progress of Education in Bihar for the year 1938-99*, Patna : Superintendant Printing Press, 1940, pp. 18-20

24. *ARPMLC*, 1939, p. 21.

25. See letter from Dr. Syed Mahmud to Rajendra Prasad, 22 June, 1938 in Valmiki Choudhury (Ed). *Dr. Rajendra Prasad ; Correspondence and Select Documents*, New Delhi : Allied Publication, 1984, Vol. 2, p. 68.

26. *ARPMLC*, 1939, p. 6.

27. It had become a routine practice for dignitaries like, Prime Minister, Education Minister, Finance Minister, District Magistrates and other high officials and important leaders to visit the literacy centres. See. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 37.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
37. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 29-32.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 15 & p. 35.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
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53. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-12.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
57. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21.
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59. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
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Chapter—III

1. Tha Entry II of list II of 7th Schedule states that Education should be the primary responsibility of the State Government.
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18. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

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22. *Education in India* 1951-52, p. 237.
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25. See Chapter II and Footnote No. 23.
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40. *Report on Social Education,* p. 59.

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17. *Ibid.*, p, iii.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
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37. For details, *See Monograph on 'Deepayatan', Bihar State Resources Centre for Adult Education*, Patna : Deepayatan n.d

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39. Interview with Shri R.S. Tewari Secretary (Education)

Government of Bihar held at Patna on 4th August, 1988.

40. Interview with Shri M.R. Srivastava held on 1st August, 1988 at Patna.

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53. *Calculated from the State Profiles of Literacy and Adult Education Programme*, pp 12-13.

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55. For a list of Voluntary Agencies in Bihar and the amount

received by them. See, *Rastriya Vayask Shiksha Karyakaram*, pp. 267-70.

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64. *National Adult Education Programme : Two years in Bihar*, Patna : Department of Education, Government of Bihar, 1980, pp. 15-20.

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74. Calculated from the figures given in Table-III in *Ibid.,* pp. 31-32.

75. Calculated from the figures given in Table IV and V in *Ibid* , pp. 34-35.

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77. *Ibid.,* p. 31.

78. *Ibid.,* p. 57.

79. *Report of Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year* 1985-86, New Delhi : Controller of Publication, 1987, Vol. II, p. 133.

Chapter—V

1. The Publication of Deepayatan entitled "where there is a will there is a way", received the third prize for fully, illustrated literacy follow up material.
2. Interview with Dr. B.K. Sinha, Director, State Resource Centre, Patna, held on 1st August, 1988.
3. Shri R.S. Tewari, recalled that whenever he had visited Naxalite areas, there was no obstruction.
4. Interview with Shri M.P. Srivastava, held on 1st August, 1988.
5. Based on the discussion held with Shri Anil K. Sinha on 16 Nov., 1988 in New Delhi.
6. Interview with Ms. Neelam Nath, Director, Adult Education (Bihar) held on 3rd August, 1988, at Patna.
7. For obvious reasons, the name of the Director is kept confidential.
8. O.P. Sharma and Robert D. Retherford, *op. cit*, p. 51.

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